The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

From 1736 to 1761.

VOLUME V.

APRIL TO OCT. 1748.

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THE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

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Volume V

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME V.

The present instalment of Ranga Pillai's Diary runs from April 1 to October 17, 1748, and embraces a period of greater general interest than the last. The text of the Madras transcript appears to contain a larger number of corrupt passages ; and again, unfortunately, it has not been possible to collate these with other versions

Ranga Pillai's private life flowed on during this period without such vicissitudes as marked the previous year. His antagonism with Madame Dupleix continued unabated, as also his eagerness to find fault with her. If we may believe him, the people of Pondichery found her injustice harder to bear than the shells poured upon them by Boscawen's mortars ; and the manner in which Dupleix followed her advice frequently incurs the diarist's censure. It is unfortunate that almost all the official documents relating to the administration of Dupleix have disappeared ; practically none survive among the archives of Pondichery ; and it is therefore difficult to judge how far Ranga Pillai's observations were inspired by jealousy. He is certainly a prejudiced witness ; but there is no reason to suppose that the administration of Pondichery differed appreciably from the contemporary type of administration in Europe, though tinged with customs borrowed from the Indian Governments of that day.

The affair which touched Ranga Pillai most closely was connected with his management of villages at Karikal. Here again materials are lacking to confirm or rebut his assertions. At that time there were two possible methods of revenue administration. One was to let the villages at a fixed rent to a tax-farmer; the other was to place them under the superintendence of one who might be trusted to bring all his collections to account. Some Karikal villages were thus placed under Ranga Pillai, who confided the management to certain agents at Karikal. They sent in their accounts and made payment accordingly to Paradis, who was then Commandant; but subsequently under pressure of inquiry they admitted that their accounts were inaccurate, and so a further demand was made upon Ranga Pillai and his partner. Their submission, after many objections, strongly suggests that they acquiesced in the justice of the demand.

He still remained Chief Dubash, although not yet formally appointed to the post. This delay in appointment was principally due to the stoppage of trade which the war with the English had occasioned. The most important functions of the office consisted in managing the merchants who supplied the cloth for the Company's investment; and that was in abeyance.

The war itself offers much more important and interesting subject-matter in the present than in the preceding volume. I have already pointed out

the dead lock that had been reached in the struggle; but the position was modified in June 1748, by the arrival of Bouvet with a French squadron on the Coast, and in August by the arrival of a powerful English expedition. Bouvet sedulously avoided any conflict with the British squadron lying at Fort St. David under the command of Admiral Griffin. He appeared off that place, deceived the English Commander into the belief that he meant to make his way to Pondichery, and then under cover of night sailed with the prevalent southerly winds for Madras, while Griffin feared to move lest he should be driven to leeward of Pondichery and so permit supplies being thrown in there. He was sharply blamed for his failure to bring the French to action, as indeed he had expected to be. 'I acquaint your lordship more fully with this,' he wrote to Anson, 'lest the impertinence of some people should raise clamour, as it has been the custom to condemn all who see French ships and do not take them.'[1] Bouvet too was attacked for not falling upon the English when their crews were ashore, and two of their men-of-war were rudderless; but he emerges with more credit than his rival from the inquiry. His principal business was to carry supplies to Dupleix, who was so short of money that he was on the point of sending his plate to the mint.[2] The

[1] Griffin to Anson, August 15, 1748. *Br. Mus. Add. MSS.* 15, 955, f. 306.

[2] Nazelle, *Dupleix et la Défense de Pondichéry*, p. 288. Cf. *infra*, p. 69.

relief he brought materially assisted Dupleix in maintaining his position until the arrival of the news of peace. And, whereas Dupleix alleged that he would have had to deal with only four English vessels,[1] Griffin had six men-of-war and two Company's ships, mounting 382 guns, as against Bouvet's 318, altogether apart from the two rudderless ships.[2] Bouvet was to all appearances justified in his decision to avoid action.

Altogether apart of that, his appearance on the Coast gave Dupleix an opportunity for which he had long been waiting. An attack upon Fort St. David was useless so long as the fort was covered by the English squadron; but, when that had been lured to the northward and leeward of the place, nothing hindered the attack. Dupleix perceived this at once. On June 15/26 Ranga Pillai mentions his preparations.[3] On the evening of the next day the French marched under Mainville to attack Cuddalore. The place certainly offered an easy prey. It was situated at some distance from the fort and separated from it by a river, which increased the difficulty of sending reinforcements thither. Ranga Pillai had not been consulted about the project; Dupleix seems to have relied upon the reports of Madame's spies; and so his dubash dwells at malicious length on

[1] Dupleix to the Company, January 15, 1749 (Nazelle, *op. cit.*, p. 289).
[2] *Narrative of the Transactions of the British Squadrons in the East Indies*, p. 67.
[3] *Infra*, p. 73.

the reports received of Mainville's success, followed almost immediately by news of his utter failure. He should certainly have succeeded. The defences of the place were miserable. Clive states that on the north and south the town was quite open.[1] That is an exaggeration; but the crumbling walls were defended by two companies only, with less than a hundred peons, and very little ammunition.[2] Orme relates that Lawrence lured Mainville into attacking the place by pretending to withdraw the garrison; and Malleson takes occasion to reprehend Lawrence's conduct. Orme got his information from Clive[3]; but the version must be dismissed as inaccurate. Neither gun nor man was moved to or from Cuddalore, although orders had been issued for the ammunition to be moved into the fort.[4] This was the extent of Lawrence's ruse. Panic caused the French failure. The night was very dark. The assailants came unawares upon the town. They were alarmed at a sudden outburst of fire all round the walls—that outburst being itself the result of panic—supposed the town to be packed with troops, and fled in disorder. This failure in attack is scarcely creditable to French arms; while the success of the defence was due rather to good fortune than to skill or valour.

[1] Clive ap. *Orme MSS. India*, i, 141.

[2] Letter of Hyde Parker, January 17, 1749. *Misc. Ltrs. Recd.*, 1749–50, No. 7 (India Office).

[3] *Orme MSS. ut supra.*

[4] Hyde Parker's letter.

About this time, the principal Dutch settlement, Negapatam, was almost as large and important as Pondichery or Madras. Throughout the War of the Austrian Succession, Dutch sympathies had lain rather with the English than with the French. Although the Governor of Pulicat, de Jong, had refused asylum to Mrs. Morse and other English women when La Bourdonnais attacked Madras, Mersen, his superior, had welcomed English refugees at Negapatam, had sheltered an English sloop beneath his guns, and had taken charge of English treasure to save it from French hands. When French troops invaded the Netherlands in 1747, the Dutch joined the English and the Imperialists; and orders were despatched to the officials of the Dutch East India Company to assist the English against the French. This decision was communicated to the Fort St. David Council in April 1748[1]; and the Dutch immediately set to work to put Negapatam in a posture of defence.[2] Later on, when the English besieged Pondichery, the Dutch sent a detachment of troops to help in the siege. They were commanded by Captain Roussel, who had formerly been in the service of the French East India Company, and who, ten years later, was to command the unfortunate expedition with which the Dutch hoped to conquer the predominance of Bengal.

[1] Mersen, etc., to Floyer, etc., April 17/28, 1748; *Letters to Fort St. David*, ii, pp. 37–38.

[2] *Infra*, pp. 28–29.

Meanwhile the English had been preparing an expedition to avenge the capture of Madras and restore the Company's prestige on the Coromandel Coast. On receipt of that news, the Company had at once petitioned Newcastle for the assistance of His Majesty's forces.[1] In June and July 1747, orders were issued for the equipment of a squadron of nine men-of-war, which were to carry a company of Royal artillery and twelve independent companies of foot specially raised for the occasion. In the following November the fleet sailed under Boscawen. It reached the Cape in the months of March and April, and then sailed to attack Mauritius. That project appeared too hazardous to be undertaken; so Boscawen proceeded with what speed he could to the Coromandel Coast, in order if possible to reduce Pondichery before the monsoon rains should set in in mid-October. He arrived off Fort St. David at the end of July, being preceded by false reports at Pondichery of the repulse of his forces and the loss of ships.

His coming had been long expected. So early as the previous March he had been looked for from day to day.[2] Accordingly Dupleix had had ample leisure in which to complete the plan of his defence. Moreover all through the months previous to the siege,

[1] Secret Committee to Newcastle, April 24, 1747. *P.R.O. Colonial*, 77–18.

[2] Hallyburton to Paupa Braminy, March 2, 1748, *Orme MSS. Various*, 71.

he was expecting the arrival of the strong squadrons which had been fitted out at L'Orient and Brest, but which had been scattered or destroyed by the vigilant English fleets. Meanwhile he had been busily completing the fortifications; and in July Paradis came up from Karikal to take the military command, the question of his rank having been settled by his appointment to be one of the Supreme Council, which conferred on him the power of commanding military officers of any rank.

Even when Boscawen had arrived, there were prodigious delays in beginning operations, due, so he declared, to the total absence of preparations before his arrival. He marched on August 8/19, and on the 11th/22nd encountered a party of French sepoys, who were driven from their entrenchments; on the 13th/24th he attacked the French fort at Ariyankuppam [1] which was not taken until August 19/30; and it was not until August 30/September 10 that the English broke ground before Pondichery. They had wasted a month of precious time. Moreover when the attack was thus begun, the besiegers took up the worst possible position that could have been chosen, north-west of the town, where their trenches could not be cleared of water, and where the troops were worn out by harassing marches to convoy all the stores that had to be brought up from the ships to the camp. Ranga Pillai's comment,

[1] In regard to topographical detail, the reader is recommended to examine the plans in Nazelle's *Dupleix et la Défense de Pondichéry*.

that God must have put it into their minds to take up such a position, plainly indicates how astonishing and complete the error was.

It is needless to relate here the whole story of the siege. The heavy batteries of the English did not open fire until September 9/20. Even then the French fire was and remained superior. The attack culminated in a fierce cannonade from both sea and land on September 27/October 8; but as this failed to produce any perceptible effect, as the monsoon rains were at hand, and sickness was prevalent in the English camp, Boscawen embarked his stores on October 2/13 and withdrew two days later. Boscawen commanded at the beginning of the siege 2,400 British infantry, 1,000 seamen, and 150 artillery men. Of these by the end of the siege he had lost 164 killed or died of disease, 137 wounded, 38 missing and 812 sick—close on a third of his whole force[1].

In Pondichery itself, one of the most curious incidents was the destruction of the Iswaran Temple. This lay close beside the Jesuit Church, and the fathers had long been endeavouring to secure its removal. They had failed hitherto; but the previous volumes of the Diary record several incidents to which the continual bickering over this subject had given rise. But when the minds of the inhabitants were engrossed with the English

[1] See the official returns in the *P.R.O.*, *Admiralty*, -160.

attacks, and a considerable number of the chief caste-people had sought refuge elsewhere, the Jesuits thought the time had come for ending what they regarded as no less than a public scandal; and Dupleix was brought to share their views, not improbably by Madame's persuasion. Much of what Ranga Pillai writes on this subject is very just, especially his version of what Dupleix ought to have done if he wished to have the temple removed.[1] This affair was coupled with a similar attempt to remove a mosque that stood near the Capuchins' Church; but this was checked by the active discontent excited thereby among the Muhammadan sepoys of Abd-ul-rahman. But these incidents furnish good examples of the religious policy which the more intolerant of the Roman Catholic priesthood succeeded in imposing upon French colonial administrators, and which formed one of the most ominous aspects of French colonial policy under the old *régime*.

The state of mind prevalent in Pondichery during the siege is well reflected in the Diary. At first there was absolute confidence that the English would never venture to attack the place. Then when their plans were known and the siege had become certain, this confidence was succeeded by a general state of alarm, during which a considerable number of inhabitants, including some of Chanda Sahib's

[1] See pp. 311–312 *infra*.

relations, quitted the place, and Dupleix had much trouble in preventing a general exodus. The shells too which the English threw into the town, at first from their bomb-ketch and later on from a battery of mortars to the westward of the place, created much fear. Ranga Pillai's description of these shells makes curious reading—their rise into the air reminds him of a man climbing a ladder; and their slow flight, of a fat man making his way through a crowd. But the area of the town was too great for the English shells to do very much damage or produce a panic. People soon grew used to them and lost much of their fear. Indeed the English round-shot seems to have been more alarming than the shells, owing to the lack of previous warning and the abruptness of the destruction that they accomplished. On the whole, the principal feature of Boscawen's bombardment would appear to be its insufficiency; he needed many more and much larger guns to accomplish what he aimed at.

The eminently successful defence which Dupleix put up was from all points of view enormously beneficial to the French position in the Carnatic; and it added not a little to the general belief in Dupleix' good fortune. Ranga Pillai plainly, though unjustly, attributes the defence of the place to its Governor's luck rather than to the prudence and foresight of his measures; and the reputation thus confirmed was a considerable element in the more dazzling successes which Dupleix was to secure in

the next few years, in just the same way as Clive's reputation for good fortune served him so well in facilitating his exploits. Dupleix, Ranga Pillai assures us more than once, might tear his cloth but would be certain to find a use for the pieces. In more solemn tones, the diarist considers him possessed of 'the nectar of help, otherwise called . . . the favour of God.'

Boscawen's failure before Pondichery, shortly followed by the news that the preliminaries of peace had been agreed upon at Aix-la-Chapelle, closed the first phase of the Anglo-French struggle. Both parties were left with embittered feelings and unreconciled differences. The trade-rivalry, which had made the English directors appeal to Government for help to crush their rivals, was obviously about to re-open; and the French would evidently enjoy all the subtle advantages which success in war bestows upon the nation which has waged it. Besides, the English had to endure the humiliation of having lost their principal settlement, of having failed to take Pondichery, and of having recovered Madras only in exchange for conquests made upon the other side of the globe; and the French, especially Dupleix, nursed the painful memory of heavy financial loss inflicted by the naval operations of the English squadrons under Barnett and Griffin. The peace, so far as rested with the French and English in India, was likely to be but a temporary affair; and the events which furnished

the pretext for war in India while peace was still maintained in Europe were already casting their shadows forward. The present volume indeed suggests that the six months covered by it witnessed a definite step in the slow evolution of Dupleix' policy. At the outset he was still intent upon the projected exchange of Madras for the districts of Villiyanallur and Valudavur, adjoining the Pondichery limits; his old friend, Imam Sahib, was supposed to be arranging this with the aged Nizam-ul-mulk. Then in June came the news of the latter's death and the accession of his son, Nasir Jang. Imam Sahib claimed to be deep in the confidence of the new subahdar; and grants of the villages in question were freely promised. At this time Dupleix was anxious to emulate the fame which Dumas had won in Europe in consequence of the honours paid him by Safdar Ali. He gave Ranga Pillai a draft of a letter which he wished to have sent to him as from Nasir Jang, with a list of presents copied *verbatim* from the list which the Abbé Guyon had published of the presents offered to Dumas. But he had also grown impatient of the delays of Oriental Courts. This affair of the village-grants had been mooted months before, and he adds a threat that unless the villages are speedily granted, he may take them by force. Further signs of his impatience are afforded by his treatment of Avay Sahib, Imam Sahib's vakil. The vakil was charged to obtain at Pondichery what was needful for the

approaching marriage of Imam Sahib's daughter at Arcot. These things were to be paid f r out of the loan which Imam Sahib had long before made to the French; but the Pondichery finances were unequal to its repayment, even in part; and this seems to have led to something very like a breach between Dupleix and the man who had acted as principal agent for the French at the Nizam's Court, and consequently with that Court itself; complimentary letters might still be exchanged, as on the occasion of Boscawen's retreat from before Pondichery; but Nasir Jang henceforward held but a small place in Dupleix' plans for the future. He was, it may be supposed, disgusted with the ineffective duplicity of Nasir Jang and his servants.

For the moment too he seems to have thought much the same of Chanda Sahib. In the previous volume, we have recorded a curious and interesting correspondence regarding his release from confinement at Satara;[1] but though a whole year had elapsed, the situation was still uncertain. His coming was constantly reported, yet he never came. When Boscawen formed his siege, Dupleix was still watching anxiously for the appearance of that bright array of pennons and banners by which the march of an Oriental army was betokened; but Chanda Sahib was still delaying on the northern bank of the Kistna, and Pondichery was saved by the endurance

[1] See Vol. IV, pp. 124, etc.

of its defenders and the mistakes of its enemies, instead of by the advent of a great army friendly to the French. The effects of this delay are evident enough in the treatment which Dupleix accorded to the Navait families resident in Pondichery. In May and June, before Bouvet had brought the bitterly-needed supplies of money, Dupleix, having turned to them for a financial aid which he believed they could well offer, had found them to all seeming forgetful of their past friendliness; and in the first moment of keen annoyance he seems to have resolved to break with them altogether. They may pay what they owe the French and depart. This severity of mood was modified by the fallacious news of Chanda Sahib's coming; but when the English shells proved too much for the nerves of his guests, he let them go elsewhere, detaining Chanda Sahib's son as a hostage. Evidently the traditional view of the constant and close friendship between Dupleix and the Navaits left much out of account. Dupleix' policy was not nearly so consistent or far-seeing as has been alleged. He was indeed prepared, so early as 1745 [1], to lend money in order to assist Chanda Sahib to become Nawab. It was a policy in which not only he and his Council, but the Company also, saw considerable advantages.[2] But those advantages were nothing more than might reasonably be asked by a trading company from a favourable

[1] Pondichery to the Company, Jan. 11, 1746 (*P.R.* No. 7).
[2] Company to Pondichery [February 1747?] (*P.R.* No. 7).

Nawab. They did not include the predominant share in the power of the Government, which fell to the French in the Carnatic and to the English in Bengal, not in consequence of any deep-laid plans, but simply because the Nawabs were unable of their own power to maintain themselves in their respective provinces. In the Carnatic the Moghul organization seems never to have recovered from the effects of the great Maratha Raid in 1740–41. The years intervening between that event and 1748 had brought with them murders and anarchy. The death of the Nizam at once released the disruptive forces which had still been held in check by the terror of his name. Murtaza Ali, who, as the Madras Council afterwards observed, had had the address to murder two nawabs and escape all punishment therefor, began at once to collect troops, to form designs against Anwar-ud-din at Arcot, and possibly to enter into negotiations with Chanda Sahib.[1] Another movement indicative of the growing unrest was that of the Hindu principalities of the South, Tanjore and Mysore, who are reported to have planned the restoration of Hindu rule at Trichinopoly. And all this, daily reported to Dupleix, bred in him contempt for the state-craft of these princes and nobles, distrust of their good faith, and a dim consciousness of the results that might be expected from active and vigorous intervention, if it should seem worth while. But Dupleix did not

[1] See for instance, p. 126 *infra*.

yet discern precisely in what way it would be worth while.

His private thoughts still were, and for some years continued to be principally occupied with the problem of repairing his fortune, shattered by the operations of the English squadron early in the war. Some of the means he employed, usual enough in those days, though sounding oddly in times when administrative purity has long been established as the general rule, are revealed by Ranga Pillai's naïve pages. Dupleix complains that he is making nothing, that he made nothing out of Madras, that the dubash is neglecting his master's interests. He grows very indignant when people say they gave 4,000 pagodas for a post for which they had promised but 2,000 rupees and paid only 1,600, and when people revive an old affair in which he had accepted a third of the late dubash's fortune for decreeing it to the dubash's brother.[1] He even seems to have taken advantage of the price of grain during the siege to make an extra profit.[2] So for the moment the diarist leaves him, covered with glory by his defence of the city against the English, groping towards the policy which was to make him for a brief while the foremost man in Southern India, and calculating how many more years of dusturi and trade he needs to restore him to France with a comfortable fortune.

[1] See pp. 136, 144, 149 and 160 *infra*. [2] p. 395 *infra*.

ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

APRIL 1748.

Monday, April 1.[1]—This morning Imâm Sâhib's friend, Chokkappa Mudali, came to give us the news, and desired me to read a letter from his son-in-law at Arcot. It said :—' Imâm Sâhib has written two letters from Aurangabad, one to his son Hasan 'Alî Khân and the other to the Capitan[2] of Pondichery. He has also written to Sâhib Sadr sending copies of these letters.' Nâsîr Jang's letter to the Governor says that he has received the telescope, and the books sent to him about the body and surgery, and that he is so pleased with them that he sends a dress of honour.

Imâm Sâhib's letter consists of compliments with somewhat about other matters.

The letter to Sâhib Sadr says that a dress of honour is being sent to the Governor of Pondichery ; that when the Pathans from Persia[3] advanced in great numbers and took the fortress of Lahore and other places beyond it, Qamar-ud-dîn Khân, the Pâdshâh's Vizier, attacked them with 60,000 men in Lahore, but in the battle that took place Qamar-ud-dîn perished and his troops fled ; that, when Muhammad

[1] *23rd Panguni, Prabhava.* [2] I.e., the Governor.

[3] I.e., the Afghans under Ahmad Khân Durâni.

Shâh Pâdshâh heard this, he sent his son[1] with 150,000 horse and ordered Nizâm-ul-mulk to march at once with his forces; that the latter therefore gave large sums of money to Sau Bhâji Râo and others, ordering them to march at once, and gave Nâsîr Jang full powers over Aurangabad and the Carnatic, leaving with him Imâm Sâhib; that Mahfuz Khân, 'Abd-ul-mosain Khân[2] of Cuddapah, Nawâb Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr, Nawâb Irâyat Muhammad Khân[3] of Adoni and other Subahdars have now been ordered to return to their Jaghirs and Nizâm-ul-mulk has drawn out his troops and marched for Delhi.

Imâm Sâhib also wrote, 'As I am in chief authority under Nâsîr Jang, I can accomplish whatever is required, and so this is the time to do whatever the Governor of Pondichery may wish.' He further wrote to Dûrân Hasan 'Alî Khân that the Marathas were moving hither under Fatteh Singh, Raghôji Bhônsla, and other chiefs with a large army, and that therefore he should not stay at Arcot but go to Pondichery with all his property. In two letters of a later date, he told Hasan 'Alî Khân that the Marathas were advancing and that he should go to Pondichery at once. Imâm Sâhib

[1] Ahmad Shâh 'Abul Nasr; the army was really commanded by I'timad-ud-daula.

[2] Is this the 'Abdul Mohasen Cawn' mentioned in *Country Correspondence*, 1751, p. 17, apparently as a son of 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, Nawâb of Cuddapah?

[3] Better known as 'Muzaffar Jang' the rival of Nâsîr Jang in 1749.

also wrote that Nâsîr Jang intended to send Avây Sâhib to Pondichery with a dress of honour and with his and Nâsîr Jang's letters. He also wrote about family matters.

When I went to the Governor with Chokkappa Mudali after reading these letters, and reported to him all the State affairs written above, he was extremely pleased. His face shone, and, turning to Chokkappa Mudali, he said that his master had been given the whole power of the State. Chokkappa Mudali answered politely that it was by the Governor's favour.

Then the Governor turned to me and said, 'A prosperous time has begun for Imâm Sâhib.' I was overjoyed and answered, 'Your glory and power have increased, and as you and he are friends, his good time has also begun. But even better days are coming.' His joy was unspeakable; and he told the news to all.

The Governor had ordered me to send for Nîrantha Ayyan and speak to him about the village affair, and I had done so. He now told me to see that the harvest there was quickly finished and added, 'I have had great expenses and I am not making a cash. You are not looking after my interests; you are getting me nothing. I made large profits when you took pains, but now you have grown careless. I am getting nothing. Be more careful in future, and attend to my concerns.' I replied politely, 'Sir, what other business have I

but that? I will see to it.' He then continued, 'I know what is in your mind. I will give the orders you wish without delay; so do not be careless in future.' I promised, and, as we were still talking, M. Bury and M. d'Auteuil arrived. As he went in to talk with them, I went to the nut-godown.

I wrote to Kandappan at Kârikâl, telling him to pay the Company the 750 pagodas already collected and whatever else might have come in, up to a total of 1,000 pagodas. I sent this off with the Governor's letter, and having stayed at the nut-godown till noon, came home.

When I went to the Governor's to-day, I returned to him the Telugu letter brought by Vîrannan, uncle of Mrityunjaya Ayyan and son of Nâgêsa Ayyan, the Company's writer at Yânâm, about the money which M. Choisy owed to Mrityunjaya Ayyan. I have written the details of this letter in my diary of the day before yesterday.[1] As the Governor wished me to translate it into French, I did so and gave him the translation with the Telugu letter. He read it, and gave it to Tyâgu for Madame Choisy. When Tyâgu had gone, the Governor said he would decide when he had heard Madame Choisy's answer.

Then I read to him the Choultry news. The Governor said that he doubted if Tarwâdi would furnish any money.[2] I agreed that it would be

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 470.

[2] Until the arrival of Bouvet's squadron in the following June Dupleix was in great straits for money. Later passages in the Diary indicate other measures that were tried to secure temporary relief.

uncertain till we actually had received it. He then complained that the Company's merchants had paid in nothing. I replied that 20,000 rupees were ready and that, as soon as they had got in the remaining 10,000 rupees, they would bring the whole. The Governor said, 'That does not matter. Tell them to bring the 20,000 rupees they have ready.' I said I would do so, and then, going to the nut-godown, sent for the Company's merchants and told them that the Governor wished them to pay in the money at once. They answered, 'The money cannot be paid yet. Debts are still owing to us at Lâlâpêttai and Arcot, and some goods are still unsold, both there and here. We will consider the matter to-night and come to you.'—'Very well,' I said, and sent them away, telling them to pay the money to-morrow. As it was noon, I came home.

I forgot to write the following in my diary four days ago, and so I write it here.—

M. Paradis wrote from Kârikâl that some people belonging to the English had gone two or three times to Tanjore, brought horses thence to Negapatam and shipped them to Fort St. David. Tiruvêngada Pillai's letter from Kârikâl, received here on March 28 or 29, says as follows:—

'Some people belonging to the English were taking nine horses[1] from Tanjore to Negapatam and

[1] Ten horses are mentioned in *Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 23. For this affair see *ibid.*, pp. 7, 19 and 24. The horses were needed for the troop of European Cavalry being formed at Fort St. David.

when they were thirty miles from Kârikâl, they were stopped by sixty peons and sepoys. Three horse-keepers escaped with their horses; but the other six horses and as many men were captured and carried into Kârikâl. Two men belonging to the English were wounded mortally, two slightly and two were uninjured. The six horses are valued at 1,500 pagodas.' It was also written that Râjâ Pratâb Singh of Tanjore had gone to Tiruvâlûr for the festival and was staying there.

Wednesday, April 3.[1]—The following is what I heard when I went to the Governor's this morning. M. Dulaurens has purchased M. Paradis' garden for 1,500 pagodas of eight touch[2]. The deed was drawn up by the notary, who was desired to describe the garden as exempt from assessment. M. Coquet, the notary, said that he could only do that with the Governor's orders. So yesterday M. Cayrefourg, M. Paradis' attorney, went to the Governor and said, 'When I asked M. Coquet to describe M. Paradis' garden as exempt from assessment, he said that your permission was needed; so will you please give permission to M. Coquet?'

[1] 25*th Panguni, Prabhava.*

[2] About 1740, all the European Settlements had been greatly troubled by the debasement of pagodas struck in the country mints. Pagodas of 8 touch (i.e., $\frac{8}{10}$ fine) had been the normal currency; but mints such as Âlambarai issued coin of 7 and 6 touch. As a consequence of this debasement, the English coined the Star Pagoda. The French also attempted measures of reform, such as prohibiting the introduction into Pondichery of Pagodas under 8 touch. Though this was not successful, bargains were still made in such coins and settled in other specie at the current rates.

To this the Governor said that as the garden was being bought by M. Dulaurens, he would get the benefit of the concession. So he sent for Tânappa Mudali, who collects the Olukarai garden rents and asked him what the tax on M. Paradis' garden was. He replied that he did not know but that the renters could tell. Therefore Muttukumarappa Mudali was sent for and questioned. He said, 'It is true that M. Paradis planted a garden and built a house in it. We have demanded the assessment from him two or three times, but he only says that he wishes to speak to you first. This is the state of the matter.' Then the Governor said to M. Cayrefourg, 'It is true that M. Paradis asked me to exempt his land from assessment and I said I would do so. But I never gave the renters any orders. This was in Pedro's time and he has since died.' So he dismissed him. Then the Governor sent for Muttukumarappa Mudali and Chinna Mudali and gave them the following message for M. Coquet: '51¼ pagodas are due for the last five years at the rate of 10¼ pagodas a year. I have asked M. Paradis for it and I will get it from him. Whoever owns it must pay 10¼ pagodas a year. Tell M. Coquet to write accordingly.' When the Governor thus dismissed them, they went and reported his words to M. Coquet. M. Coquet thereupon asked Tânappa Mudali and Muttukumarappa Mudali to inform M. Cayrefourg, M. Paradis' attorney, adding that he would write whatever

M. Cayrefourg desired. The latter answered that he could decide nothing till he had heard from M. Paradis. Then they went home.

After I had reported the choultry news, the Governor asked me if the money matter had been settled. I replied that I had said all I could, but nothing was settled. Thereupon he ordered me to send for Tarwâdi. I did so. He replied that as he was eating he could not come; but he sent the younger Tarwâdi. When he came, the Governor asked him about the money. He replied that they had written to their master but had received no reply.

At six o'clock this evening I heard the sound of guns being fired at regular intervals at Fort St. David and by the English ships. People have been saying for the last four or five days that Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, is very sick. I suppose the guns were fired because he has died. But we have still to ascertain the cause.

Thursday, April 4.[1]—When I went to the Governor's at half-past-seven this morning Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah with his people and Madanânda Pandit brought me a dress of honour and a sanad for a village worth 100 pagodas as a present from Taqî Sâhib, Killedar of Wandiwash, in honour of the birth of my child. I complimented them and gave a present of 5 rupees to Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah's people.

[1] *26th Panguni, Prabhava.*

I then went to the nut-godown and sent home the dress of honour and the sanad. When I was in the nut-godown, I heard guns being fired at Fort St. David. As I hear that Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, has been ill and as many guns were heard last night till half-past seven or eight, I think that the Governor is dead. Unless the Governor were dead, so many guns would not have been fired. This is confirmed by guns being fired from half-past seven to eight this morning, for they show that a new Governor has been appointed in place of the dead one [1].

The day before yesterday a messenger brought a sanad from Nizâm-ul-mulk and a letter from Imâm Sâhib for the Governor. He also brought a letter from his master, Mullâ Bâqar-ud-dîn, a rich merchant who, on some disturbance, left Surat two or three years ago [2] and has been living in Nizâm's camp, leaving his wife, merchandise, ships, and carts in Bombay. I made the messenger stay in my godown with Nawâb Âsaf Jâh's letter; and myself went to the Governor with the other two letters which I interpreted to him.

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[1] Ranga Pillai's conjecture was quite wrong. The Fort St. David records do not reveal precisely the occasion for these repeated salutes; but Europe shipping arrived with a formal appointment of Fort St. David as the Presidency on $\frac{\text{March 31}}{\text{April 11}}$. Possibly the news contained in their despatches reached Fort St. David (perhaps by a Dutch channel) before the ships themselves.

[2] There had been a series of troubles at Surat, which culminated in 1747 in Said Achan, the Bakshi, expelling the Governor and establishing himself, Surat being sacked in the process.

The letter from Mullâ Bâqar-ud-dîn Khân says, 'We hired your[1] ship, the *Fakrul Marakab*, to the Dutch for a voyage to Batavia; and she returned in safety to Bombay. The Nawâb Nizâm ordered her to be sent to Surat to carry the ambassador of the Sultân of Rûm thence, as he wished to proceed to Jeddah. I and the Chief at Surat are not friends, but, as the Sardâr of Bombay has a high regard for Nizâm-ul-mulk, the ship was allowed to sail with some English on board as guards, but on her way to Surat, she was captured by some Frenchmen. The Nawâb Nizâm on hearing this has sent you an order. You and the English are enemies; but there is no enmity between you and us; we are friends Be pleased to order your factory people and the sailors at Surat to return our ship and not to interfere with our ships in future. Othe matters are explained in Imâm Sâhib's letter.'

Imâm Sâhib's letter says: 'Mullâ Bâqar-ud-dîn, having been on ill terms for some years with the Shâh-bandar of Surat, removed into Nawâb Âsaf Jâh's dominions and now lives under his protection. The Mullâ sent his ship, the *Fakrul Marakab*, for the Sultân of Rûm's ambassador who was going to Jeddah; but on her way from Bombay to Surat with some English on board as guards, your sailors seized her. When the Nawâb heard this, he wrote a letter of favour to you. The Mullâ also has

[1] *Quere*, 'Our'.

written a letter to you and sent it by Muhammad 'Azîm-ud-dîn with the letter of favour. Be pleased to do as he requests.' The Nawâb Nizâm's letter says, 'As Mullâ Bâqar-ud-dîn's ship was sailing from Bombay to Surat to take on board the Sultân of Rûm's ambassador who was going to Jeddah, the French seized her. The Mullâ lives in the Moghul territories and is related to the Pâdshâh. You will be pleased to see that the ship is restored and that the ambassador goes on his way without disturbance. This order should be obeyed.'

The letters have been translated into French by M. Delarche. I shall give them to the Governor to-morrow.

Friday, April 5.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, I gave him the French translation of the letters received yesterday from Nizâm, Mullâ Bâqar-ud-dîn and Imâm Sâhib. When he had read them, the Governor ordered me to give both the translations and the Persian letters to M. Boyelleau, the Secretary. So I sent them to him by Peddu Nâyakkan. Then he ordered replies to be written to the letters. I shall write the replies below.

I reported the Choultry news and went to the nut-godown. At eleven o'clock, I was told that the Governor wanted me again, so I went to him. When Madame Porcher and M. Desmarêts were

[1] 27th *Panguni, Prabhava.*

asked to release the goods seized at Lâlâpêttai belonging to Venkata Reddi, Madame Porcher said, 'We have not seized the goods. You are quite at liberty to take them. They have been seized by the Government on account of Paramânandan's debt.' Thereon the Governor called me and said, 'When the dispute between M. Porcher and Venkata Reddi came before the Council, it was decided that M. Porcher should not seize Venkata Reddi's goods. There is no further opening for dispute. If Paramânandan has seized the goods for M. Porcher's debt to him, you must write to the Kotwal and to your people there to say that the goods must not be seized.'[1] I came away saying that I would do so.

This evening the Governor himself opened the bag containing a letter from Imâm Sâhib, and sent for me and Madanânda Pandit. The latter arrived just as the Governor was going out for a drive; so the Governor gave him the bag and the letter, and told him to be there with me when he returned. Madanânda Pandit brought the letter to my house and told me what the Governor had said. Thereupon I went to the nut-godown and read the letter, which was written on gold-specked paper. It says, 'Nâsîr Jang has received the book concerning

[1] See vol. iv., pp. 405 and 417 *supra*. On March 26, 1748, the Council gave sentence in favour of Venkata Reddi in the matter of the seizure of his goods by M. Porcher on the pretext of their belonging to his runaway servant, Paramânandan. (*P. R. Arrêts Civils*, 1744—1752, *pp*. 86–88.) ommunicated by the courtesy of H.E. M. Martineau.

the body which you sent him, with diagrams to show the different organs and members of the body, describing the nerves, bones and intestines, their size and position, and what diseases will happen if such a part is affected; and also another book describing surgical instruments and prescriptions. The telescopes also have been received. One of them was so beautiful that Nâsîr Jang presented it to his father, Nizâm-ul-mulk; for nearly an hour he praised your valour, glory and good fortune before the great men of his Court. Nâsîr Jang therefore has sent a letter with a horse and dress of honour as presents; you will learn all from the letter. Other matters will be explained in a future letter."[1] This letter [ ].

Saturday, April 6.[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked if Chandâ Sâhib's coming was as certain as the Marathas'. I said that nothing was certainly known about Chandâ Sâhib's coming, but that there was no doubt about the Marathas', else for instance Imâm Sâhib would not have written to his son to bring all his property hither. The Governor agreed and asked what Imâm Sâhib's letter said, as he had been unable to have it interpreted last night. Thereupon

[1] A French translation of this letter from Dupleix' papers is printed by M. deNazelle, p. 280. It is there stated to have been received on April 7. It is followed by a 'paper of news' relating to the embassy of Mutyâlu Nyakkan.

[2] 28*th Panguni, Prabhava.*

I explained it.[1] I desired that a full French translation might be made, and it has been done; it may be seen.

I reported the choultry news and went to the nut-godown. Then Vîrâ Nâyakkan came and said that Manian the Company's peon had told him that the Governor wanted a list of all the spies imprisoned in the Choultry. I told him to write one and to inform me of what happened. Afterwards he told me that fifteen Sûdras who were there had been chained hand and neck and made to carry earth.[2] He also wrote and gave me a list, the details of which I shall write later.

The Governor sent for me at half-past seven this evening and asked me if it was true that a festival was being celebrated at Tiruvêndipuram, a place west of Fort St. David. I replied, 'Yes, a festival is celebrated every year in the month of Vaigâsi.[3] An ascetic of great repute has come from Tirupati[4] with two or three hundred pagodas, and he is

[1] There follows Ranga Pillai's version of Imâm Sâhib's letter somewhat abbreviated from that on p. 12 *supra*, with this addition at the end :—'You need not keep horsemen in constant pay, but many foot-soldiers should be maintained. As my son Hasan 'Alî Khân is the son of your elder brother, I have written to him to come and dwell in your Government.' This addition resembles the beginning of a letter printed separately by M. de Nazelle, p. 285, but which forms part of the first letter in Dupleix' register. There seems to have been some confusion, but M. deNazelle's reasons for post-dating the latter part seem to me unsound.

[2] I.e., to work on the fortifications.

[3] Corresponding with the second half of May and the first half of June.

[4] Otherwise known as Tirumalai, 'the sacred hill', in the North Arcot district. See *North Arcot District Gazetteer*, ii. 328.

celebrating the festival now.' Then he asked me when was the car festival at which so many assembled. I replied, 'The flag will be hoisted on Wednesday. On the fifth night, that is, on Sunday, there will be the Garuda procession.[1] That night and on the day of the car festival all the Tamils flock together. But I do not know whether there will be few or many this year.' Thereupon he ordered me to enquire and inform him.

Three Brâhmans and two Mahé sepoys who used to go to and from Mahé and who were sent to Goa ten or eleven months ago, returned at eleven o'clock to-day with a letter from M. Moracin,[2] having been twenty-seven days on the way. They said, 'Three months ago four ships of M. Dordelin,[3] two ships of M. La Métrie-Baudran, and one of the two ships he captured, in all seven ships,[4] sailed from Goa intending to sail hither[5] after touching at Mahé. We came here thinking that they would have arrived before us. Have they not yet come? This is all we know; we know nothing else. There is no other important news.' They added that as abundant goods had been found on the captured English

[1] I.e., The procession in which Vishnu is carried mounted on Garuda (the kite, sacred to and the vehicle of Vishnu).

[2] Came out in the Company's service in 1740 and had served mostly on the Malabar Coast. *Compagnie au Cons., Sup.* Jan. 18, 1740 (*P.R. No.* 6).

[3] See vol. iv., p. 171.

[4] See vol. iv., p. 176.

[5] They proceeded to the Isles instead, and their arrival enabled Boutve's Squadron to be made up.

ship and they had not all been sold, M. Moracin had remained at Goa.[1]

Sunday, April 7.[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning, I interpreted as follows a letter written to him by Shaikh Ahmad, Amaldâr of Porto Novo:—'As Viswanâtha Reddi, a chief inhabitant of Bhuvanagiri, was plundering it, the Nawâb sent a sanad for his capture. When I went to capture him, he fled into Tanjore. So the Nawâb wrote to Sâhu Râjâ of Tanjore. Thereon the fugitive went to Kârikâl; so be pleased to write to Kârikâl to have him seized.'[3] The Governor replied, 'We are not harbouring him. Tell them to send their own people to capture him, wherever he is. It is not likely that he will remain in our bounds; but, if he should do so, we will expel him. Write that they may seize him wherever they find him.' I did accordingly. Then I reported the choultry news and went to the nut-godown.

Afterwards, at half-past eleven, the Governor sent for me and asked me to tell the Company's merchants not to pay the 20,000 rupees to M. Cornet but to M. Legou. I said I would do so, and, as

[1] Dupleix severely blamed the privateers for carrying their prizes to be sold at Goa, where nothing but a poor sale could be expected, the place being almost ruined. (*Cons. Sup. á la Compagnie*, Nov. 30, 1747. *P.R. No* 7.) In fact a quantity of the cargoes was never sold. In January 1750 we hear of a ship being sent round to the Coromandel Coast with cloth, etc. (*Cons. Sup. á la Compagnie*, Sept. 20, 1750. *Arch. des Colonies.*)

[2] *29th Panguni, Prabhava.*

[3] The same man was still causing trouble in June. See *Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 40.

I was going away, the Governor said to me before M. Cornet, 'Rangappa, arrange somehow to deliver to M. Cornet forty garse of paddy a month for the next two or three months, no matter whether it comes in from the villages or has to be bought in the bazaar.' Then, turning to M. Cornet, he said, 'Do not come and worry me in future; ask and get what you want from him.' I feared that the Governor would get angry with me if I said that so much could not be had, and so I came away, consenting to do as he ordered. Then M. Cornet went home, and I too came home as it was past twelve.

I will now write what happened this evening. I went to the Governor who was at the Cuddalore gate which is being rebuilt, and gave him M. Delarche's French translation of the letter that was received from Imâm Sâhib yesterday. The Governor read it and remarked, 'Look at these Muhammadans! They accept great presents from the English; yet they despise them and call them powerless.' I replied, 'Your good fortune brings you glory, while they lose their money and reputation. Glory and success are yours.' The Governor laughed at this, and said, 'You told me about the Garuda procession in Tiruvêndipuram. Which day is it?' When I told him it was to-day, he at once wrote a letter to Captain d'Auteuil at Ariyânkuppam. I then went to the nut-godown.

The Governor said, 'Many will go to Tiruvêndipuram for the Garuda procession, so we will seize

their horses.' I said that it was a fitting time, and he wrote his letter. I then went to the nut-godown.

Between half-past eight and nine to-night, Muruga Pillai, the Choultry manager, came to my nut-godown, and, standing near the door of the Manakkulam Pillaiyâr temple, called me and asked if I had heard what had been going on in the town for the last two or three days. I said I knew nothing and asked what the matter was. He said, 'Appu's younger brother Mâriyappan, Periyannan of Raghunandan's house, broker Kulappayyan, Muttan the head peon of the Pallis, Alaga Pillai the Choultry manager, Varlâm—all these have been consulting about certain Government matters.' He said he would tell me the whole story and wanted me to listen.

Monday, April 8.[1]—The news is as follows :—The Rajput and Maratha horse who came with Mutyâlu Nâyakkan from Nâsîr Jang[2] and are camped at Pâdirikuppam choultry, seeing crowds of people going last night to Tiruvêndipuram for the Garuda procession, tied up their horses and went to Tiruvêndipuram also. Thereon M. d'Auteuil with 150 of the European horse and sepoys that lay encamped at Muttirusa Pillai's choultry, fell upon their camp, seized 43 horses that were stabled there, and shot fifty or sixty others and forty or fifty men. They

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[1] 30*th Panguni, Prabhava.*

[2] Mutyâlu engaged 100 Rajput horse at Arcot, but seems to have brought none from Nâsîr Jang's camp.—*Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 21.

then entered the camp and carried off all they could find in the tents—furniture, goods, money, women's cloths and swords. A trooper came at eight o'clock this morning with this news, and added that the party was returning with some bullocks, a camel and a standard which they had captured.

As he had said, they arrived at three o'clock this afternoon with 43 horses, a camel, some bullocks and the standard. They were brought before the Governor and reported the news. He was very pleased to see them and ordered 18 horses to be given to the sepoys and the remaining 25 to be put in the stables. They then went to their quarters.

When the Governor had heard this news and seen the horses, he called me and said, ' You built a fishing dam for fish, but did not catch many; but, you see, I send horsemen and catch 43 horses.' I replied, ' As Fort St. David is to fall into your hands in April or May, what wonder is it that you have taken these horses ? ' He laughed, and ordered men to be posted to prevent the sepoys from carrying any of the horses away. Accordingly I wrote to the Amaldâr of Villiyanallûr, and sent Malayappan with twenty peons to seize sepoys or others who might be leading horses out. Then I went to the nut-godown.

Jemadar ' Abd-ul-rahmân came and spoke with great pride and joy of his bravery in attacking men as they slept. I replied suitably and politely, but I reflected that his valour could be shown on none

but the sleeping. He then took leave and went to his quarters. I too came home to eat.

At three o'clock this afternoon, I went to the Second and paid him the 17,000 rupees which the Company's merchants had raised out of the 20,000 rupees they have to pay. I said that I would pay the remainder to-morrow and take his receipt. I also desired him, in case the Governor should ask about it, to say that he had received the full sum. He agreed to do so.

Then Arunâchala Chetti came to the Second and said, 'Some time ago you gave 500 pagodas' weight of gold to a jeweller to make certain articles; but the man stole 30 pagodas' weight, replacing it by so much silver.[1] I knew nothing of this at the time; but when I sent it to be cut in the mint at Âlambarai, it was found to be of inferior touch; so I seized the goldsmith and asked him about it. He fell at my feet, saying he had done amiss, begging forgiveness, and returning 20 pagodas with promises to return the remaining 10 pagodas soon. This is a serious matter, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen. If it comes out, who knows what may happen? and he fears the Company may imprison him. I tell you this because you should know of it.' The Second replied, 'Nothing would have happened if you had not told me; but now I must make

[1] Silver was the alloy most commonly used with gold. At one time trouble was caused by the substitution of copper for silver as the lloy for pagodas in the Madras Mint.

enquiries.' Arunâchala Chetti answered, 'I have told you, not in order that the matter may be enquired into, but merely because you ought to know about it.' The Second replied, 'Very well.'

The Second did not approve of the capture of the horses, and so he asked me to relate the whole story from beginning to end. Thereupon I told him. He spoke as though he did not like the business; but I convinced him by explaining that, if in such circumstances as the present we did nothing, the English would not fear us. Then I went to the nut-godown.

When I was there, the Governor sent for me, and said, 'Ill times have begun for the people of Fort St. David, good times for us.' He talked about many things very cheerfully, and said, 'The English are managing affairs carelessly. If only, by the grace of God, Saint-Georges' squadron[1] reaches this place, I will surely take Fort St. David. If only the ships had arrived, it would have been taken already. Even if we had two ships, matters would be different. But we shall see—God is on our side.' I answered, that his success last night showed clearly that his time of prosperity had begun, and spoke other joyful words. Then I returned to the nut-godown and he sat down to cards.

[1] Saint-Georges commanded a squadron of three men-of-war which left L'Orient in March, 1747, was dispersed by a storm, sailed again from the Isle d'Aix in May, and in the same month was destroyed by Anson off Cape Ortegal. Lacour-Gayet, *La Marine Militaire Sous Louis XV*, Paris, 1910, p. 180.

Monday, April 15.[1]—I went this morning to the Fort with Imâm Sâhib's gumastah, Chokkappa Mudali, to get from M. Cornet 100 candies of lead (valued at 5,000 rupees, at 50 rupees a candy) on Chokkappa Mudali's receipt, which is to be exchanged for another sealed by Hasan 'Alî Khân, Imâm Sâhib's son, when he comes here. But just as M. Cornet was returning from church, the Governor sent for me. Before I went, I called Mâriyappa Mudali, and told him to give M. Cornet Chokkappa Mudali's receipt and get an order for the lead. Then I went to the Governor's.

As it was a festival to-day, the Governor went to mass and brought all the gentlemen home with him to coffee. But he went inside without speaking to any one for long. When I arrived, he was reading the Gazette, which came in a Europe packet to Surat and thence overland by runners. Fifteen letters also lay before him, five or six of them small ones. He was reading them also. I think they were letters from the Company.

When I went and salaamed, he asked what was the news from Fort St. David. I replied, 'Henceforth we shall receive news regularly. All the tents that were pitched near the bound-hedge have been struck. I hear that they are sending on board the ships soldiers, lascars, goods and victuals. After the alarm at the Garuda procession, no one

[1] *7th Chittirai, Vibhava.*

has been to Tiruvêndipuram from Fort St. David or Cuddalore or even from the out-villages. The image was carried round and only the necessary ceremonies observed.'

The Governor then told me the following news contained in the Gazette received from Europe :—As the Dutch have always inclined to the side of the English, the King of France has taken three or four towns in Holland,[1] and has written to the States-General that, if they think well and act suitably with their wisdom, their dignity will be maintained, but that otherwise they know what to expect[2]. The Queen of Hungary has been conquered[3] and there is none in Europe so great or so fortunate as the King of France. M. de La Bourdonnais sent M. de La Gatinais on *La Renommée* to Europe with the news of the capture of Madras. He arrived, reported his news and delivered M. de La Bourdonnais' letters to the Compte de Maurepas, fifth Councillor and Minister to the King[4]. When he had read these letters and related to the King their

[1] Sluys, Sas de Gand, Hulst and Axel were taken in May, 1747.

[2] A declaration of April 17, 1747, states that Louis XV found himself obliged to invade Holland, but that he would restore the occupied territory at the conclusion of the war.

[3] Maria Theresa ceded Silesia and Glatz to Frederic II by the Treaty of Dresden, December, 1746.

[4] Jean-Fredéric Phélypeaux, Compte de Maurepas, b. 1701, d. 1781. Named Secretary of State for the Marine in 1715, and took up the personal discharge of his functions in 1723; he was disgraced in 1749, being suspected of having written certain verses on Mme. de Pompadour. The rank of minister implied membership of the King's Council, a rank not necessarily held by the head of every department of Government.

contents, the King was overjoyed, and appointed the Compte de Maurepas, the Chancellor, M. de Machault Comptroller-General of Finance[1], and M. Rouillé[2], Commissary for the Company's affairs and *Maître des Requêtes*, to settle the affairs of Madras. They were authorised to send ships and treasure and to act as they thought fit.

According to M. de La Bourdonnais' letters and M. de La Gatinais' reports, the former sent to the Company a ship with goods and precious stones worth thirty-seven lakhs of pagodas; and people said Madras was a place where a man could get the Nine Treasures[3]. So M. de La Bourdonnais' fame spread throughout Europe, and the King eagerly expected his arrival. The capture of Madras, which established French fame in India, was regarded by the King, his ministers and the Company as a great victory, and all believed that by this time the French flag would be flying at Fort St. David, Anjengo, Tellicherry and Vizagapatam. M. Dupleix' complaints against La Bourdonnais had not then reached Europe. [ ].

Monday, April 29.[4]—Of the Marathas who came to take service here, Anandâji Gorpadê and one or two others and nine horsemen have taken leave of the Governor, got passes and departed, saying that

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[1] Machault d' Arnouville, b. 1701, *Maître des requêtes* 1728, *Contrôleur Général des Finances*, 1745-1754.

[2] Rouillé was 'Commissaire du Roi auprès de la Compagnie' 1745-1749.

[3] I.e., the nine treasures of Kubêra.

[4] 21*st Chittirai, Vibhava.*

they wish to return home. When it was asked why these alone wanted to go, though the seventeen troopers who came under the blind Jemadar made no such request, it was said that they had been asked to carry muskets,[1] and that they did not like to serve under 'Abd-ul-rahmân and obey him. Further, they have been invited by Sâmâ Râo, who has left service at Arni, and says that he wants to raise some horse. So they have gone.

There is nothing besides worth writing. [ ]

[1] I.e., they were to have been armed as dragoons.

MAY 1748.

Tuesday, May 7.[1]—I went to the Governor this morning and reported to him the choultry news. There is no news worth writing. [ ].

The following is what Ammana Pandit of Tinnevelly wrote to me in his letter received to-day:—'When Muhammad 'Alî Khân[2] heard at Manappârai of the death of Mîr Ghulâm Husain on the afternoon of Monday [April 22], the tenth day after the full moon, he marched at once but is now halted near Tinnevelly.'

As soon as I had read the letter, I reported the news to the Governor. He said, 'Ranga Pillai, here is a chance of making some money.[3] Constant warfare has stopped all trade for the last four years; I have not made a cash profit, but have had to spend much. You know what pains and trouble I took to capture Madras; and while others profited, I did not get a cash. You know all this. You must do all you can in this matter. If you can get me some money, I will never forget your services.' I replied, 'Sir, I am your slave. You know what efforts I have made for the last six or seven years to obtain profit for you. For your great kindness

[1] *29th Chittirai, Vibhava.*

[2] This is the well-known second son of Anwar-ud-dîn; at this time he was managing Trichinopoly, Madura, etc.

[3] Apparently an abrupt change of subject. Ranga Pillai omits to say what this great chance was.

to me, I am devoted heart and soul to your interests. You know that whenever you have wanted money I have always obtained it for you, and I need not remind you of it. This is a very good opportunity to obtain a large sum, if you will be pleased to do as I suggest; and I will see that you gain on every year.' When I said this, the Governor replied, 'Up to now, have I acted on your advice or not? I shall do the same now and in future.' I replied respectfully, 'God will favour us in this affair.' He answered, 'You have acted so till now, and you will do the same in future. I know well that you never look to your own gain but always to mine.' I replied suitably, and came away.

Friday, May 10.[1]—[ ] Before he came, the right-hand caste people formed a great crowd and stood before the Governor. M. Cornet was there also. The Governor asked me who they were, and I said that they were the right-hand caste people. He then asked why they had come. I said, 'Muttu Ulagappa Chetti, grandson of the Company's merchant Cuddalore Kumarappa Chetti, rode yesterday on a white horse to the festival at Pudupêttai. When he returned, he rode it a certain distance and then put his daughter on it. Only the right-hand castes may use a white horse, a white umbrella, white gown and white flag. The left-hand

[1] 1st *Vaigâsi, Vibhava.*

castes may not use them. This is the practice throughout the land. Therefore, he has done what is forbidden. You should enquire into it.' I also told him what had happened at Fort St. David and Madras[1]. Thereon he told me to send for Muttu Ulagappa Chetti and said, 'I will enquire into the rest to-morrow. Send him to prison.' Thereupon Muttu Ulagappa Chetti was put in prison, and the right-hand caste people took leave and departed. [ ]

Wednesday, May 22[2].—When I went to the Governor this morning, I reported to him the choultry news and then related the contents of Shaikh Ahmad Sâhib's letter from Porto Novo, as follows:—'Your French people have seized by force some of the Dutch towns. I hear that thirty ships have appeared off Batavia, and that Imperial and English ships are coming to help them against the French. Your ships will arrive in accordance with my constant prayers, and our enemies will always be defeated. What greater joy is there than this? God will bless us with still greater happiness in future.' On hearing this, the Governor said, 'The Dutch are betraying

[1] The right and left-hand castes were always having disputes over their respective privileges. See, for example, at Madras, Love's *Vestiges*, ii, pp. 142–143 and 419–420. There was a very troublesome dispute of a similar nature at Fort St. David in 1740, involving the murder of a woman and the temporary secession of a part of the inhabitants. *Fort St. David Cons.* 1740, April 23, 24 and 26: August 29 and 30: also *Letters from Fort St. George* 1740 (Madras to Fort St. David of September 12).

[2] *13th Vaigâsi, Vibhava.*

their own weakness. They are so alarmed at what has happened in Europe that all can see how weak they are.' I replied, 'Our capture of Madras has terrified and confused the whole country. Moreover Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, the lord of their countries, and Mahfuz Khân, were both driven back to Arcot, victory thus being added to victory, as miraculously as though a gold flower should give forth scent. Velipâlaiyam,[1] on the outskirts of Negapatam, has been pulled down and all the houses near the fort have been razed to the ground. All the cannon in the batteries at Velipâlaiyam have been carried into the Fort. The merchants of the town, and the rich men from Trichinopoly and Tanjore who went thither to make money, are alarmed and have fled to Jaffna, Udaiyârpâlaiyam and Ariyalûr. They would fear to touch even a crow from Pondichery or Kârikâl. They are like people on the outlook for ships from the tower of Puduveli temple. At Negapatam a man used to be able to get crores of money, but now he will not find a hundred pagodas. I am told that they have sent away all their wealth. Those who have been there say that the gates are shut and only a wicket left open[2] and there are constant rumours of the arrival

[1] I.e. the town outside the walls—the 'voor-stad' of Dutch travellers. See for instance, Nieuhoff, p. 112.

[2] Negapatam was well-known for the constant precautions taken. 'You know what a bother it is to get in or out of this town; no garrison is better guarded: even the lame, blind and halt are hardly admitted.' *Madame Dumont to Moracin* [1762]. (Madras Military Bundles.)

of our ships. M. Paradis has proclaimed by beat of tom-tom at Kârikâl that people from Negapatam shall be given a cowle for land to build on and that they need have no fear. So he has been encouraging the people. You may have received letters from Kârikâl about these matters.'

The Governor remarked, 'This is true; but however frightened they may be, they are foolish to show it; they should hide their terror.' I reflected that the confusion of our affairs was only concealed from the world by the glory we have been lucky enough to win, otherwise it would have been evident to all; but I said, 'God has made them timid, inglorious and impotent in order to give you courage, foresight, valour and glory. Were there no sin, virtue would not shine; so too, courage and glory only shine beside cowardice and infamy. They are earning disrepute in order that your glory may be enhanced.'

I also told him that their contracts with the Porto Novo merchants had been cancelled, and their advances recalled, on the score that they had goods enough; that all business was at a standstill; and that the Second of Sadras, who had fled with his wife and children to the Uyyâluvâr jungles, had returned with the inhabitants. Then I went to the nut-godown.[ ]

Tuesday, May 28.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked me what Mîr

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[1] 19*th Vaigâsi, Vibhava.*

Diyânat-ul-lah and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib had said. I replied, 'Nothing particular has happened; they say we must be patient, and propose to content us with a few presents.' When I said this, he asked me whether I had consented. But I said, 'Am I mad?' Their writer suggested this, in the course of conversation, meaning to speak further if I took the matter up. But I answered indifferently, and sent him away saying that they should bring the money which would be returned in an hour."[1] There is nothing else worth writing. I came home on the stroke of twelve.

The Governor sent for me again at three o'clock and asked me if anything had been said further than what I had already reported. I told him that I had seen no one else. Just then the Second came to speak to the Governor. I think he came to ask the Governor to have money ready for the monthly pay, as it is only two or three days to the end of the month.

When they had finished, the captain of the English ship which is in the roads hoisted his flag and fired a gun at a trading ship which he saw hoisting its sails. The latter sailed away without

[1] This affair, the subsequent course of which Ranga Pillai relates at some length, seems to have arisen out of a demand for the repayment of the money which Dupleix had laid out on the Navâit marriage in the previous December--So at least I conjecture from a letter written by Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Pôlûr to Floyer later in the year (*Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 65.) Dupleix was evidently very hard-pressed for money at this moment.

replying, and so another gun was fired. As he was coming down after watching this, the Governor said that, unless they came to an agreement by this evening, Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah should pass the night in the belfry[1] in the Fort.—'As you deem best,' I said.

Then he went out for a drive and returned at six o'clock. He again sent and asked me if anything further had happened. I said that their people had not yet come, on which he said,' I will have him brought into the Fort at eight o'clock and kept there.' I then went to the nut-godown.

He again sent for me at eight o'clock and said that he would keep him in the belfry in the Fort; then he told the chobdar, Muhammad Husain, to take him to the Fort and deliver him to M. Bury. He did so, and, returning in ten minutes, said that he had delivered Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah to M. Bury in the Fort. I sent two sepoys and a corporal to his house.[2]

The Governor said angrily, 'Some one has been working against us, and you have not discovered who he is. It would have been easy enough, if you had only watched and seized those who visited him. But you are afraid of making enemies, and so have done nothing. Otherwise we should have known

[1] Used apparently as a prison for better-class Europeans, etc. La Gatinais, for instance, was shut up in it in 1746 (Dupleix to La Bourdonnais Oct. 28, 1746. No. 209 of La Bourdonnais' Pieces Justificatives). The French seem to have been unusually solicitous about providing airy prisons. See *Deliberations du Conseil Supérieur ii*, p. 181.

[2] Apparently to M. Bury's house, to act as guards of Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah.

who it was.' I replied, 'I did think of mentioning two persons; but I knew nothing definite, and a man reaps according to his deeds. I can accuse a man if he has committed a crime; but if I accused him for nothing, you would ask why I did so, and I should have no answer.' On this he exclaimed that he would put 'Alî Naqî in the Fort. I answered, 'That is easy. But formerly you gave great help to the Navâits and the glory of your deeds spread like a sweet odour. Why then should you do this? But the power is yours.' As I said this, standing before him, water was brought to the Governor to wash his hands, and then he went to supper. I went to the nut-godown.

Wednesday, May 29.[1]—The Governor sent for me at seven o'clock this morning and asked if Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah's people had proposed anything since his arrest and imprisonment of last night. I replied, 'Chandâ Sâhib's wife has just sent a message by the Brâhman Rajôba, who says that 'Alî Naqî Sâhib told her that he knew nothing about the matter, that everything had been said and done by Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah, the prisoner, and that he, 'Alî Naqî, had been accused quite falsely. Rajôba asked me to explain this to you and desire you to overlook the fault. I then told him without omitting a word what Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah had said and done before 'Alî Naqî Sâhib came, and what 'Alî Naqî had said

[1] 20*th Vaigâsi, Vibhava.*

and done afterwards. He was very surprised to hear this, and took leave not knowing what to say, for he knew that his master would be much annoyed and feared what might happen.'

I said also that I did not know what was going to be done. 'Indeed,' he said, and then asked when the Company's merchants would pay in some money. I said it might come to-morrow or the day after, and he asked whether it would be paid in rupees or pagodas. I said that it would be in rupees. Then he took coffee and went into his writing-room. I went to the nut-godown.

The Governor sent for me again at eleven o'clock and told me to wait and talk with Chandâ Sâhib's Brâhman when he came. I explained why I had not waited and could not do so. He said, 'Very well.' He then asked if no one had been appointed in the place of Arumpâtai Mudupiri Âsârappan, who is dead. I replied that it was being arranged by Tânappa Mudali, but that it had not been settled yet. He then told me to appoint a man willing to pay the proper amount. I replied that I would choose a man and arrange for the money. He said, 'Pay me the amount and you may appoint whom you please.' I said that I would do so, then went to the nut-godown, and came home at noon. [.]

JUNE 1748.

Tuesday, June 4.[1]—I went to the Governor's this morning. As soon as he returned from church, I reported the Choultry news.

The Governor then asked me if Chandâ Sâhib's Brâhman had said anything. I replied, 'They want us to be patient, and that is all. So you must do as you please.' He said, 'Chandâ Sâhib's people owe me money; tell them they may all go away when they have paid me.' I said I would. He then said that, if I would send for Râjô Pandit, he would tell him plainly. I replied that would be the best thing to do, and sent word accordingly. When he had come and salaamed, the Governor said, 'You must pay either the lakh of rupees that 'Alî Naqî promised or what you owe us, and leave Pondichery.' (The Governor spoke at some length but I have written it briefly.) I explained to Râjô Pandit peremptorily and dismissed him. The Governor said again that he must have an answer in two days. So I told Râjô Pandit, who, hearing what I said, went and waited for me in my nut-godown. When I went there he asked me anxiously what was the use of getting angry with him. I said, 'Do you think what has been done is good? See that the business is settled easily and quietly.' When I spoke thus,

[1] 26th *Vaigâsi, Vibhava.*

he turned pale, his lips grew dry, and he departed. I came home at noon.

The Governor sent for me at six o'clock this evening, and asked if any of their people had come to me. When I said none, he asked whether the merchants would raise the money we had been asking them for. I answered that 'Alî Naqî Sâhib nad written and it would not be delayed an hour after it had been received.

He then asked whether I did not think the new Madras gate beautiful. I replied, 'Can any one in the world equal you in genius? You alone are equal to yourself.' I praised him thus, went to the nut-godown, and came home at nine o'clock. [.]

Wednesday, June 5.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said, 'I hear that Muttayyan has arrived from Madras. M. Barthélemy writes that he knows what was done before Madras was leased out, and when M. Panon made his enquiries, and that he can explain everything. Who is he and where is he? I have already sent for him; but he has not yet come. I want him quickly.' I replied, 'He is related to Arumpâtai and used to be his agent at Madras, but has come here as they have quarrelled. I have already recommended him to be sent back.' He then asked why I had not sent him. I replied, 'The man who is now at Madras will

[1] 27*th Vaigâsi, Vibhava.*

come here for Arumpâtai's marriage, so Parasurâman says. When he comes, and when Arumpâtai's marriage is over, he may be sent.'—'Very well,' he said, 'do so.' Just then Muttayyan came, and I told him at once to go to the Governor. When the Governor saw him, he brought him to me and we went together into the writing-room. The Governor said to him, 'M. Barthélemy writes that you know all about the garden agreement made in M. Panon's time; what was it?' Muttayyan replied, 'It was managed first by M. Friell and then by M. Panon. Then M. Dulaurens and M. Panon heard from here that a lease had been granted, so they ordered the garden writer to collect no more money. They collected the rent agreed on from those who were there, and made enquiries about those who were absent. That is all I know.' When I interpreted this to the Governor, he ordered me to write about it to M. Barthélemy, and dismissed Muttayyan.

Then he asked me what the news was from Fort St. David. I replied, 'I have sent no one and so no news has come. I do not know if what is said by those who have been there is only bazaar talk or if it is true.' —'Listen to me,' he said, 'A month or six weeks ago, you said that our frigate with the Europe news had been seized by the English this side of Colombo and Galle, and that the crew had not been landed but kept on board. I have heard the same thing. A week ago three of the ships' officers were taken and imprisoned in the fort; but they resolutely

refused to say what news was in the letters. They were then given a feast, with much wine, to make them speak. Two drank but little; so they kept sober and refused to speak. But the third drank too much, and told all the Europe news, the coming of French ships, and even the place in the ship where the letters had been hidden Thereupon the frigate was searched and the letters which were found were brought ashore and read. They must have mentioned the capture of Madras, what was to be done with it, and the despatch of many ships,—for it was only after this that the Governor of Negapatam began to pull down houses and so forth, and prepare for war. That is why he has asked the English to repay according to their agreement the money lent them. That is how it appears to me.' I said, 'It is true that the frigate has been captured. It is no lie. It is also true that the letters were hidden instead of being thrown overboard, and have been found. So all the rest is true also.' The Governor continued, 'As they have seized the frigate which came from Europe to Mascareigne and was coming here, we have no news from Mascareigne or Europe. Besides, as neither the Mascareigne ships nor the privateers have arrived, in spite of my writing for them, I think that the letters from Europe must have ordered no ships to sail for Pondichery before the arrival of the squadron from Europe. That is why not even the Mascareigne ships have come.' I replied, 'If there had been no orders from Europe,

the ships would have come in response to your letters.'—'I think so,' he went on. 'In Europe, as the Company had no money, the king gave 9 millions and six men-of-war[1], besides the Company's money and ships. As he and the ministers ordered the Company to send in October the money and the ships they had ready, the ships must have sailed; there could have been no delay. And the Company must have written about what should be done, when they learnt of the capture of Madras. Besides, though no war has been declared in Europe between us and the Dutch, as they have been secretly helping the English with money, men and ships, and as English ships have been lying in the eight Dutch ports, the chief one, Peku,[2] has been seized. So perhaps orders may have been issued to capture the rich Dutch towns of Batavia, Colombo, etc.; the English may have learnt this and written to the Dutch; else why should they be preparing for war?' When I asked why the ships at Mascareigne should be sent to Batavia, he replied, 'It is said that four English ships are expected from China by way of Batavia, and the ships at

[1] The Company had laid claim to compensation for its losses at the hands of the English, on the ground that it had been insufficiently protected by the Royal fleets. The minister, Machault, refused to admit this, but an arrangement was made by which the Company surrendered the *Ferme des Tabacs* (which had brought in yearly some 8 million livres) on condition that the State paid an annual *rente* of 9 million livres instead of 300,000 livres as before. The net result was a gain of income of 700,000 livres. See *Weber*, pp. 562–563.

[2] Perhaps a corruption of 'Berg-op-zoom,' taken by Lowendal, September 16, 1747.

Mascareigne must have gone to Batavia to intercept them and attack Batavia. It is also said that the privateers have captured some English ships coming from Madagascar. We should have had news from Europe and Mascareigne if only that frigate had not been captured by the English a month or six weeks ago; but as it was captured and we have no news, we can only guess what is happening.' Thus he revealed all that was in his mind.

Then he asked if Chandâ Sâhib's man, Râjô Pandit, had come. I said, 'No,' and he told me to send for him; so I sent a peon. Before he came, I told the Governor about the death of the Pâdshâh at Delhi, the accession of his son Ahmad Shâh, and the other news that I wrote in yesterday's diary.[1] He said, 'Then there will be war, and the Marathas will grow still stronger. Since the Nawâb of Bengal died, the Marathas have seized his brother and are ruling the whole of Bengal. They will do the same here.' I answered, 'When the comet was seen, every one said that the Pâdshâh or Nizâm-ul-mulk would die, or that there would be famine throughout the land. Even so, the Pâdshâh has died, and three hours after that many were put to death. We know not what else will happen.' He said, 'True, the comet was seen to the northward.'

[1] Muhammad Shâh died April 27, 1748, and was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shâh 'Abul Nasr who reigned till 1754. He was a mere puppet-king. The passage referred to in 'Yesterday's diary' was probably omitted by M. Montbrun, from whose transcript the Madras transcript was made.

As we were thus talking, I said, 'Nizâm-ul-mulk is very old and will die soon; then indeed things will be turned upside-down. The Marathas are only waiting for his death to drive out the Muhammadans and seize their dominions.' He answered, 'We shall see. These things are pre-ordained; the Pâdshâh at Delhi has died, and many have perished for no reason at all, and there is confusion. We shall see the same thing in these parts next.' I answered, 'Is so much evil awaiting [us]?'

When we were talking, Râjô Pandit came, and we all went into the writing-room. When the Governor had taken Râjô Pandit inside, he said, 'The day before yesterday you were told to bring me to-day an answer about 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's affair. What have you to say now?' He answered on behalf of his mistress, 'When my husband was in trouble,[1] he applied for a lakh of rupees to Taqî Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's father, to Safdar 'Alî Khân's wife, to Murtazâ Muhammad 'Alî Khân and others; but they said that they had not a cash and that they could give nothing. When you were asked, you promised to give. You have already given us money to send for his expenses. At the time of the marriage you gave so much that we were able to celebrate it with greater splendour than we could have done when he was Nawâb. Thus your glory has spread to Delhi, and has protected our

[1] I.e., when Chandâ Sâhib was captured at Trichinopoly in 1741.

family. So, since your glory has been spread abroad like a sweet scent, and since we wish to help you in your time of need, we have pledged our jewels and goods. Moreover we have sent word to Pôlûr and Wandiwash. But though we desire to pay you all we can by sending our gold and silver jewels to the mint to be coined, there is delay. The mint-people say that such business was done in M. Miran's[1] time under his orders, but now they want your orders.' On this the Governor told me to give orders to the mint-people, and to send for M. Delarche; and then, turning to Râjô Pandit, he said, 'What business had 'Alî Naqî Sâhib to speak ill of us? I shall send Europeans to question him about it.' So saying, he dismissed him.

He then said to me, 'All that Chandâ Sâhib's wife says is true. It is true that I gave them money when they asked others in vain. They are alarmed at the strictness of my orders. I will send M. Delarche and see what fear will make them say.' I said that that was the right thing to do.

Then M. Delarche came; and the Governor and I explained to him that for the last two months and a half we had been asking for a lakh of rupees through Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah, who said that a chest of pagodas which had been received since 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's departure was still under the shroff's seal,

[1] Miran (the elder) mint-master, died April 11, 1748. (*Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, October 25, 1748.—*P.R. No.* 7).

but that the shroff was coming in a day or two, and that the day after he came, the money-changers should be brought to examine the coins and the money should be paid; that moreover 'Alî Naqî Sâhib told me in person that, so long as he lived in God's world, he would never promise more than he could perform, and, confirming his words by an oath, promised to give half the sum by the third watch and the rest within four days; that, as he was pretending to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân that he had no money, he would pay in pagodas instead of in rupees, so that his deceit should not be known; and lastly that Taqî Sâhib had replied to my letter when Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah went to Wandiwash, that our affairs were as his, and that he would arrange to send the money shortly after Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah. When we had explained this to M. Delarche, and the Governor asked him to go, he said that he wanted me to come with him. The Governor told me to go accordingly; and thereupon I and M. Delarche set out, taking with us Madanânda Pandit also, as he knew all about the affair. When we went to 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and sat down, his mouth was parched, his hands and legs shook, and he looked like one that had seen a devil. When we asked him about what had previously happened, he said he knew nothing; but when we asked him before Madanânda Pandit, whether he had not said this and that, he confessed and begged to be forgiven. Thus his mouth was parched, his

face was deadly pale, and he begged M. Delarche to tell the Governor that it was but a small matter to him who had settled in a moment the affairs of Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân. Thereon M. Delarche said, 'Will you trifle with the Governor of this city? You must pay at once a lakh of rupees, as you have agreed, or great troubles will come upon you. Is this a jesting matter?' When M. Delarche spoke so severely, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib looked as though he had seen a devil, and said, 'Sir, I am but young, and the Governor should forgive me.' He grinned like a monkey eating ginger, and continued, 'My father will not receive me back. When I first told him that I wished to go to Pondichery, he said that I should not go, and, if I did, he would regard me as dead and perform memorial rites for me. Now if he hears of all that has happened, he will not suffer me to live. I shall die.' He then wept, and his anxiety and sorrow were beyond words. The more alarm he showed, the more M. Delarche pressed his deceit upon him. For nearly two hours he was in an unspeakable state of fear. At last he said that, if he were sent to Wandiwash, he would explain all and arrange to bring some money. M. Delarche caught up these words. On his departure, he was given a dress of honour (worth 150 rupees) which he greedily accepted. When 'Alî Naqî Sâhib was told that he must explain all to the Governor, his voice failed

him, and he begged Chandâ Sâhib's son, Rajôba, and Madanânda Pandit to speak for him, as he knew not what to say. Chandâ Sâhib's son answered his entreaties. When I saw all this, I remembered how proudly they used to look and speak, how in an instant they would threaten a man, and send him away full of fear. Where is now their wit? I know not. If I were to write of this in detail, I could fill innumerable pages. But how can I write of such great people?

Then we took leave and went to tell the Governor what had passed. He observed, ' 'Alî Naqî Sâhib says that he will go and tell his father and bring the money. Tell him to write. We will see what his father says—whether he tells his son to go and get the money, whether he says he has no money to send, or whether he sends the money for his son to pay and then return. You must go to 'Alî Naqî at four o'clock, get a letter from him, and send it.'

M. Delarche agreed, and turning to me said, 'It is already noon; go home and get your food, and come at four o'clock.' Then the Governor asked M. Delarche whether 'Alî Naqî Sâhib had confessed what had taken place. He replied, 'At first he denied it, but afterwards confessed, with tears, being paralysed with fear.' Then I came home. God has protected me, in that 'Alî Naqî Sâhib has confessed everything that was reported to the Governor instead of accusing me.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, M. Delarche sent for me. When we went to 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and asked him to write a letter for us to send to his father, he wept, and when it was written he said that it was his death-warrant. As he had no choice, he asked Madanânda Pandit to prepare the letter, and it was written fair by Râjô Pandit. He then sealed and gave it to us. He showed the same signs of fear as this morning—his hair was dishevelled, his hands and legs shook, and his tongue faltered. We took the letter and went to the Governor. M. Delarche gave it to him and told him what had passed. The Governor handed it to me to be sent to Taqî Sâhib at Wandiwash; so I despatched it at once by two of the Company's peons, Arulappan and Perumâl, and then went to my nut-godown and came home at nine o'clock.

Friday, June 7.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning to speak to the Second, and then went to the Governor. On seeing me, he said, 'I have had a letter from M. Barthélemy at Madras. He says there is a poligar there named Parathalarâjâ, who has sixty or seventy villages rent-free and pays an annual peshkash to the Nawâb like the Râjâ of Kârvêti and others. He used to be the head of the peons at Madras, but the English quarrelled with him and appointed Peddu Nâyakkan in his place. He now comes and says that he and Peddu Nâyakkan are enemies, that,

[1] 29th *Vaigâsi, Vibhava.*

if he is reappointed, he will furnish whenever wanted 3,000 or 4,000 peons, with whatever sheep and fowls may at any time be needed. Who is he and what ought we to say?' I replied, 'He is related to Malrâjâ and is bent on destroying him. He often visits the Nawâb, and besides we should not trust a stranger at present. We can consider the matter after we have settled with the English. We might appoint him, but at present we had better not; at least, that is my opinion; but later on we can do as we please.' The Governor replied, 'You are right. We will see about it afterwards, and I will write that matters had best remain as they are for the present.' After speaking of other matters, I came home. There is nothing more worth writing. [.]

Monday, June 10.[1]—Soldiers, sepoys and matchlock-peons formed a lane at seven o'clock this morning from the Valudâvûr Gate up to the Governor's house, for Mahârâja Râja Srî Monsieur Chevalier Dupleix, Governor-General, as he went to receive Nâsîr Jang's presents. The Governor was accompanied by pike-men, head-peon Malayappan's people, matchlock-men, music and dancing girls, with horses and elephants carrying the kettle-drums, flags and so forth; and he halted at the tent pitched outside the Valudâvûr Gate. Then I went with M. Guillard and M. Le Maire to my garden (where

[1] *32nd Vaigâsi, Vibhava.*

Avây Sâhib had halted) with kettle-drums, European troopers, 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys, horsemen, and music. We greeted Avây Sâhib, placed the dress of honour he had brought in the Governor's palankin, led the horse before it, and returned to the Valudâvûr Gate with him. When the Governor had put on the girdle, he was conducted home in the same order as before. The Governor inquired of Avây Sâhib after the welfare of Nâsîr Jang and Imâm Sâhib, and, when the exchange of compliments was over, Avây Sâhib was given rosewater and pân supârî and permitted to go to his lodging. The Councillors also took leave; and the Governor placed the dress of honour in his house, ordered the horse to be taken to the stables, gave me Nâsîr Jang's and Imâm Sâhib's letters, and then withdrew. Salutes of 21 guns were fired when the Governor left the Valudâvûr Gate with the presents, and when he reached his house. The last time that presents were received, there were three salutes, but then the presents were carried round the Fort, and so an extra salute was fired when they entered it. This time the presents were taken straight to the house, so there were only two.

Nâsîr Jang's letter was as follows :—'I am highly pleased with the telescopes, the books and other things which you have sent. As a proof of my affection for you, I have received with ill-favour Mutyâlu Nâyakkan, the Vakîl from Fort St. David, and hindered his business. I admire the

greatness of your valour. When you read Imâm Husain Khân Sâhib's letter, you will know my love towards you. Receive with reverence and faithfulness the horse and the dress of honour which I am sending.'

Imâm Sâhib's letter says :—' Nâsîr Jang is sending a horse and a dress of honour. Receive them with respect. I am doing my best, and would give even life itself in order to settle your business. The Pâdshâh's son has fought with the Pathans who captured the fortress of Lahore and killed their three chiefs, and thirty thousand horsemen, whereon the rest dispersed and fled. The fort has been recovered, and the Pâdshâh has returned to Delhi, leaving a garrison as usual. Qamar-ud-dîn Khân, the Vizier, perished in the fight. I have also written that the marriage of my daughter, Katikâsâl, is to be celebrated at Arcot with as much splendour as possible. Please supply all that Avây Sâhib asks for. I have endeavoured to obtain Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr, as you know. In your letter to Nâsîr Jang, you had better write that I have informed him of everything, and request him to speak on your behalf with Nizâm-ul-mulk and settle it. Many ships are coming with 50 pairs of spectacles and gold filings weighing fifty rupees.[1] Nizâm-ul-mulk has seen the paper showing the

[1] The passage as it stands can bear no other meaning ; I suppose the transcriber to have corrupted the Tamil.

weight of the ships' cannon and the cannon-balls ; and he has asked for two great guns with some shot. If you only write that you are willing to send them, and do so, it will please Nizâm-ul-mulk more than if you sent him a great treasure. Please send coffee and velvet according to your yearly practice.'

I read the letters, and interpreted them to the Governor ; and then went to the nut-godown. When I was coming home at noon, I met Appu who said that the Governor had ordered him to tell me that he would attend the Arumpâtai's marriage at six o'clock. I asked him to tell the Governor that I would go there, and then came home. [.]

Tuesday, June 18.[1]—The Governor was shaved and dressed this morning, and he ordered the sentinels and gate-peons to open his doors, which had been closed for the last six days, and admit as usual all who might come. He took his coffee in the centre hall. As soon as this was known, the Europeans came and inquired after his health, and those who had business with him discussed it. When they had gone, I also went and inquired after his health.

The Governor then asked what news there was from Arcot. I said, 'Mahfuz Khân and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân are on bad terms ; the latter has gone away to Lâlâpêttai, and Râjô Pandit, Chandâ Sâhib's

[1] *8th Âni, Vibhava.*

gumastah, tells me that this news has been written to Chandâ Sâhib from Arcot.

'The messenger from Satâra tells me that Fatteh Singh and Raghôji Bhônsla have assembled their troops at a place called Akulakotta, 180 miles this side of Satâra, and are marching this way. When Bâpôji Nâyakkan, who has lost fifty lakhs of rupees, heard that Fatteh Singh and Raghôji Bhônsla had been sent to the Carnatic instead of himself, he set fire to his tents and goods, and has been lying at Sâhu Râjâ's gate for the last 20 days in the garb of an ascetic, with his wife and another person, threatening to poison himself. Chandâ Sâhib has taken leave, saying that he will return when he has recovered Trichinopoly.'

The Governor said, 'Translate into French your letters from Fatteh Singh and mine from Bâpôji Nâyakkan; they may have to be sent to Europe.' I said I would do so and went to M. Le Beaume, got them translated, and came home at noon. There is nothing more worth writing except about broker Dêvasahâyam. [.]

Saturday, June 22.[1]—The following is the news written in the letter dated Thursday the 20th, received from Arcot at sunrise this morning, which I have interpreted to the Governor:—

On the 5th of the present Muhammadan month Jamâdî-ul-âkhir, a letter to Nizâm-ul-mulk from

[1] 12*th Âni, Vibhava.*

Delhi, dated the 5th of the last Muhammadan month Jamâdî-ul-auwal. [

].

The following is the news received from Arcot to-day, the 22nd of June, at 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's palace :—

Muhammad Shâh Pâdshâh died on the 29th of Rabî-us-sânî of the Hijrî year 1161, of the fasli year 1157, and in the 31st year after his accession to the throne, corresponding to the 20th Chittirai of Vibhava.[1] It was the first lunar day in the bright half of Vaisâka, Sunday, 36¼, Bharani Constellation 16¾, Sowbhâgyam 52½, Kimutugnam 5¾, at one o'clock in the night. His son returned from Lahore, after having defeated the Pathans, on the sixth day after his death, that is, on the 26th of Chittirai of Vibhava, corresponding with the 5th of Jamâdî-ul-auwal.[2] It was the seventh lunar day in the bright half of Vaisâka, Saturday, Saptami 60, Constellation Pushyam 50¾, Gandanâmayôgam 59¼, Garajavâkaranam 29½, Dhivi 6¾ in the morning. On this auspicious day from which the years of his reign will be dated, he ascended the throne of his father, assuming the name of Muhammad Ahmad Shâh Bahâdûr Pâdshâh-i-Ghâzi. A parwâna has been sent to Âsaf Jâh Nizâm to read the Kutba and

[1] This corresponds with April 17/28, a date which is confirmed by the astrological details The date commonly given is the 27th.

[2] I.e., Saturday, April 23/May 4. It should be noted that the Muhammadan day runs from sunset to sunset.

to strike coins in the name of Abu Nasr Mujâhid-ud-dîn Muhammad Ahmad Shâh Bahâdûr Pâdshâh-i-Ghâzi. The news arrived when Nizâm-ul-mulk was encamped near a river on the other side of Purdambudah on his way to Aurangabad, at a distance of three days' journey from Burhanpur. But on the appointed day, the 5th of Jamâdî-us-sânî, equivalent to the 24th Vaigâsi of Vibhava,[1] Sunday, the sixth lunar day in the bright half of Jêshta month, Nizâm-ul-mulk died. This news reached Arcot on the 16th day afterwards.

The meaning of the titles used upon the seal and in the proclamation :—

Abu Nasr, father of victories ;

Mujâhid-ud-dîn, he who establishes his faith above others ;

Muhammad Ahmad Pâdshâh, his father's name and his own ;

Bahâdûr Pâdshâh-i-Ghâzi, he who has ascended the throne after conquering the mighty Pathans ;

Sikka Haraf, the inscription on the coins, Muhammad Ahmad Shâh Bahâdûr Pâdshâh-i-Ghâzi.

The proclamation was in the name 'Abu Nasr Mujâhid-ud-dîn Muhammad Ahmad Shâh Bahâdûr Pâdshâh-i-Ghâzi.' [.]

The above news was written to the Moghul messenger, Nâgôji Pandit, and to the Sowcar Kâsi Dâs

[1] I.e., Sunday, May 22/ June 2. The dates given for the Nizâm's death vary much. Lyall places it in April; Coltru in the early part of the year ; and Grant Duff on June 19. The *Country Correspondence* of 1748 (p. 39) gives May 21/ June 1.

Bukkanji. As soon as he had read it, he carried the letter to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Mahfuz Khân and read it to them. The letter said that, when Nizâm-ul-mulk died, his younger son Nâsîr Jang was with him. For about three hours both father and son [1] were overcome with grief at Nizâm-ul-mulk's death; but then they ordered the kettle-drums to be beaten joyfully to announce the accession of Ahmad Shâh to his father's throne.

The same news was also written in Vakîl Subbayyan's letter.

I interpreted all this to the Governor. I do not know what troubled him or what he was thinking about; perhaps he is troubled because ten English ships appeared at sunrise off the landing-place.

He used to question me for an hour or more about matters not worth a cash; but he listened with indifference to this serious news—the death of Nizâm-ul-mulk and of Muhammad Shâh Pâdshâh, the accession of Ahmad Shâh to his father's throne, the exercise of authority in his name, and the march of Fatteh Singh, Raghôji Bhônsla and other Maratha chiefs with large forces upon the Carnatic. Without asking a single question about these, he asked what news had come from Cuddalore. I said that I had heard none. Then he asked why the English ships should have suddenly sailed hither. I replied, 'They must have heard that our ships were coming,

[1] I.e., Anwar-ud-dîn and Mahfuz Khân.

and supposed that they would sail here after touching at Mahé. It is only after the ships have been cleared of the chests of silver and other goods that the commander will be ready to fight; so, knowing all this, the English have sailed hither, meaning to engage our ships before the chests of silver, etc., have been unladed, not troubling about anything else.'—'True,' he said, 'I think so too. It looks as though the English have heard from Negapatam of our ships' arrival at Kârikâl or thereabouts. Mr. Griffin, the Commodore, took on board out of the hospital every man who could walk, together with food and other things, in as great a state of confusion as though all were panic-stricken, and, as the proverb says, forgetting even the crying children. The whole town was in confusion, and they went aboard with nothing but what they had on,—such was their haste. Since the English ships took in supplies and set sail last night, and are now lying here, there can be no doubt that our ships are coming and that they will be here to-morrow or the day after.' I replied that it must be so.[1]

I then said, 'Âsârappan, Kanakarâya Mudali's nephew, has died, and a dispute has arisen between his widow, his brother, Dairiyam, and Lazar.

[1] At one o'clock on June 10/21 Bouvet's eight French ships and a sloop came in sight of Fort St. David. At eleven P.M., the same day Griffin sailed with seven of H.M.'s ships and two of the Company's to engage them, but, failing to find them, lay off Pondichery till June 12/23 and then sailed northward. Meanwhile the French had landed treasure, etc., at Madras and sailed away. See also below p. 63.

Probably the matter will be brought before you. Kanakarâya Mudali's wife brought up her sister's daughter. When Âsârappan married her, 15,000 pagodas and some other things were given her as dowry. Then Âsârappan said that his brother and his mother had no claim on him, as he had entered the house of Kanakarâya Mudali's wife. Besides this, there was talk that Âsârappan's younger brother would be adopted by Kanakarâya Mudali, and so there was another dispute between the mother and the son. The mother said to Âsârappan, "What right have you to your father's property? you have gone to another man's house." So saying, she went away with all her husband's goods—her cloths, goods, furniture, and money, down to the very winnowing fan, saying, "Can I not take away my husband's property, and what right has any one else over it, even though I was sick when my husband died, and they told me nothing about it?" But Chinna Mudali said, "Why do you worry yourself? Food and cloths shall be given you. Eat and live." So now they intend to present a petition. If it comes, be pleased to receive it, inquire into it, and do justice.' The Governor said, 'Very well.' I then told him all that was necessary about the affair.

The Governor then said, 'Lazar has now sixty or seventy thousand pagodas, and he has got all this in the Company's service, and not otherwise. Why does he not make the Company a loan at interest? He is ungrateful. When money is thus hoarded in

the town, how can we see any in people's hands ?' So saying, he went up to watch for the ships.

I went to the nut-godown and called Sûrappa Mudali, Tambichâ Mudali's grandson, and said, 'I have spoken to the Governor about the affair which you and M. Miran told me of. Go and present your petition now.' He thanked me and took leave. I came home at noon.

Sunday, June 23.[1]—The Company's peons at the Beach went to the Governor this morning and told him that the ten English ships, which were in the roads from yesterday morning to midnight, had sailed to the northward this morning, that only a sloop had sailed for Fort St. David, and only the ship which used to lie in our roads was still there. When I went to the nut-godown, as I commonly do on my way to the Governor's, I learnt that the European troopers and Muhammadan sepoys had drawn out at seven o'clock; the Governor was going to church, but, being unwilling to detain them or the Râchûr rocket-men, he went to the Fort Church to hear mass without an escort. I also heard that eighty or ninety European and Muhammadan horse, under M. d'Auteuil, M. Bury[2] and others, and a hundred of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys, had been ordered to Madras.[3] The Governor returned from church after hearing mass.

[1] 13th Âni, Vibhava.

[2] Apparently an error for Bussy, who is mentioned instead on p. 59 *infra*.

[3] See Dupleix' letter to Barthélemy at Madras dated 9 A.M., June 23, *Nazelle*, p. 300.

When M. Miran left Achin, he brought with him a man-monkey such as used to be brought from Achin and Malacca; but he left it behind at Kârikâl and hastened hither, on hearing of his elder brother's death. M. Le Riche sent it to Chidambaram to be brought here. Mudâmiah of Chidambaram sent it in to-day by ten or twelve peons. When the Governor heard of this, he asked for it, and so M. Miran gave it him. It takes food with its hand like a man, and like a man it lies down to sleep. It will take a cup and drink from it; and if a wet cloth is given to it, it will wring it out in its hands. The Governor watched it with interest, and wanted others to see it too.

The Governor turned and asked me why the ships had come here and why they had gone away again. I said, 'Between half-past nine and half-past eleven or twelve on the night of Thursday, June 20, I heard twenty-two guns,[1] and I reported this to you the next morning. You asked me what I thought, and I told you that it must be either our ships or theirs; that if they had been English ships, the people of Fort St. David and Cuddalore would not have removed their money to Porto Novo and other places; that they had fled in great confusion to Tiruviti, Panruti, Porto Novo and Venkatammâlpêttai, leaving even their children behind; and that

[1] In the night of June 9/20, the *Lively* came in and reported that she had been chased by 9 strange sail. Griffin was ashore at the Garden House, and did not get aboard till 4 A.M. next morning.

it appeared that our ships had arrived. I suggested that our ships could not easily land their silver here and that they had therefore gone to Madras, and would soon send news after unloading.' He angrily replied, 'I thought you had more sense! How absurd! Why should they go to Madras in the north when there is Kârikâl to the south?' I answered that I supposed the English ships which were here had sailed northward expecting our ships to go to Madras; but he again asked why they should not have remained near Kârikâl. I said, 'Ships were sighted off Kârikâl, and the English may have sent a ship out to sea, which returned without sighting an enemy; but now they have received news and so sailed northwards this morning,'—'But,' he responded, 'that can't be true. There must be something else.' When I said that I could think of nothing else, he went away angrily.

Then a hundred of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys, with eighty or ninety European and Muhammadan horse, were sent to Madras under M. d'Auteuil, M. Bussy, and others. I then went to the nut-godown. I was told that the Governor had sent for me again. When I went, he asked me if it was true that Linga Chetti and others had removed their goods. I replied as before, and told him that news would come to-day or to-morrow that our ships had reached Madras, and that silver and other goods had been landed. He frowned and declared that no ship had been sighted.

When we were thus talking, he asked me about the petition which I had said would be presented by Âsârappan's wife. I replied that they would hear mass on Sunday morning, write the petition, and deliver it in the evening. He told me to see that it was received. I said that I would do so and went back to the nut-godown.

Again the Governor sent for me, touched upon the same subject and asked if I thought that the ships were really ours. Then he thought a little and went into his room. I believe he thinks that English ships sailed by out at sea while those in the roads sailed close in shore. I replied, 'I do not think so, because otherwise the gardens and walls at Negapatam would not have been demolished. Besides why should Linga Chetti and others at Fort St. David remove their goods, wives and children, and why should the whole of Cuddalore be in confusion? For these reasons, I think the ships are ours, though God alone knows. And we must believe this, because many say that a fortunate time awaits us, beginning in June or July and increasing daily, and adding to our welfare. So these ships must be ours.' I added all that I have written above, but he retired into his room and I came home.

I came home, had my bath, ate my food and was washing my hands, when the Governor sent me a note by a Company's peon. This was at half-past two. It said, 'News has come that eight

ships and two sloops have arrived from Europe at Madras and that they are lying at anchor there. I wish to speak to you about it.' I gave a turban, worth a pagoda, and a mouthful of sugar to the Company's peon who brought the good news, and sent him away. Before I could walk to the Governor's, he had already sent a runner to recall the guards, European horsemen and sepoys under M. d'Auteuil, etc., who left this morning for Madras. As soon as the letter with the news of the ships' arrival reached him at half-past one to-day, he ordered the bells in the Fort Church, in St. Paul's Church, and in the Capuchins' Church to be rung continuously. When the bells were still ringing, I went to the Governor and salaamed. He turned to me saying, 'What you said was quite right. Eight of our ships and two sloops dropped anchor in the Madras roads, at one o'clock yesterday. M. Bouvet, the Commodore, has written by the catamaran people that he will come ashore and explain everything, and that all the available boats [1] should be sent out. M. Barthélemy has also written saying that the letters were despatched at three o'clock yesterday, that a present of 30 rupees should be given to the runners if they arrived this morning, and that he would write about other matters later. What will 'Alî Naqî say now? All those who formerly refused will now be compelled to pay.

[1] Reading *padahu* for *pattu*.

What mean fellows the Muhammadans are! In spite of all the help we have given them, they care for nothing but money, and would not oblige us with any in a time of need, even though they could have had it back in a week. They think nothing of the character of the persons who ask them for it. One can trust Europeans or Tamils but never Muhammadans.'

To this I replied, 'All cry out on the meanness of what they have done. Does not the whole kingdom know how you have protected and helped them? Do you owe your glory to them? Can they save you in any way? Their behaviour will discredit them, but cannot affect us. 'Alî Naqî now intends to visit you.' When I said this, the Governor replied, 'What does he want? He had better not enter my presence, the dog! If he wishes to go home, he can.' I answered, 'Not so, Sir; be gracious to him.' He replied, 'Don't even name the dog to me. Need I ask him for anything? Now you will see that each man will bring money of his own accord.'—I said, 'As this is our lucky time, people will thrust money upon us, without our stirring or asking for it.' He agreed and began to pace up and down. Presently he stopped near me and said, 'The Commodore of Fort St. David is a rascal, who will never fight. You see, when he sighted our ships off Fort St. David, he should have pursued till he had caught them up, and given them battle. But he waited till they were

out of sight, then sailed in shore, lay to the south of our roads, and only sailed slowly off the next day.[1] You will see him flying before our ships when they return. He will never fight, for he is a coward. I will send the troops that are now ready, or I will go myself, against Fort St. David in five or six days and cause great confusion there. Don't tell this to any one, but keep it secret. The merchants at Cuddalore and Fort St. David,' he continued, 'are, I believe, keeping their goods in Akkal Nayakkan's jungles and elsewhere. If we make careful search, we shall find somebody to show us the places on condition of sharing the spoil.' We spoke thus for a little while, and then I went to the nut-godown and lay down there, getting up again in the evening.

As to-day was the eve of the Feast of St. John, a bonfire was built south of the fort. The Governor went thither at the head of the troops, and lighted the bonfire. Guns also were fired.[2] I went at six

[1] Griffin's behaviour was severely criticised. The news of Bouvet's squadron was received at about 11 P.M. on the night of June 9/20; Griffin got aboard at 4 A.M., next morning; Bouvet came in sight about 2 P.M. that afternoon; and the English squadron did not sail till 1 A.M. next morning. In Griffin's defence it may be urged that two of his ships were rudderless, and that, if he had sailed after the sea-breeze set in (about noon), he would have been carried to the northward of Pondichery and so have left the way open for Bouvet to reach Pondichery. The Court Martial which considered his conduct found that he should have sailed with the land-wind before the enemy came in sight. The Admiralty considered his error one of judgment, not due to lack of zeal or courage. See the *Narrative of the transactions of the British Squadron in the East Indies*, pp. 64, etc.; also various papers at the Public Record Office. Griffin to Corbet August 15, 1748 (Ad. 1. 160), Griffin's Journal (Admirals' Journals No. 25), the Court Martial (Ad. 1. 5294), and Griffin's petition with the Admiralty report on it, Jan. 9, 1752 (Ad. 7. 480).

[2] Cf. Vol. iv, p. 106 *supra*.

o'clock to see the festival, and then returned to the nut-godown, where I talked with the Company's merchants till half-past seven, and so came home at gunfire.

Monday, June 24.[1]—As to-day was Madame Dupleix' name-day, when the Governor, the Councillors, the other Europeans and their wives, were ready to go to hear mass at the church by the south gate, I paid my respects to her with limes, and as the Governor was present, she received them with politeness and paid me compliments. Then the Governor and the rest of the Europeans with their wives went to the church. M. Bussy was sitting there, when all had gone, and I asked him about the ships from Europe. He replied, 'Nothing is known for certain from the Europe letters. M. le Chevalier d'Albert[2] is coming here as commander of the expected troops. It is also said that M. de La Bourdonnais has been imprisoned. His brother has also been arrested and has been sent to Madras. On the way, the squadron sighted a vessel laden with powder and shot which the Dutch were sending to the English,[3] but it was

[1] 14*th Âni, Vibhava.*

[2] After the destruction of Saint-Georges' squadron, a new one under d'Albert was prepared. It sailed Jan. 23, 1748, was scattered by a storm and d'Albert was made prisoner by the English, *Nazelle*, p. 135.

[3] She was called the *Corneille Magdelaine* (*Pondichery to Negapatam* Dec. 31, 1749, *P.R.* No. 15, *p.* 395) Dupleix says of her that she was bound with ammunition for Trinkānalai 'where we knew there were several English ships at anchor.' (*Dupleix to the Minister*, Jan. 15, 1749, *Archives des Colonies*). That however is inaccurate. There were no English ships there at that time.

seized and carried to Madras. I believe that the squadron will sail here as soon as the silver is unloaded.' I then asked him to ascertain the Europe news and tell me all the details. 'But,' he said, 'do you expect me to hear more than you?' I replied, 'For all that, you are a Frenchman, but we are Tamils, and there is a difference between you and us. Be pleased therefore to tell me whatever news you may hear.' He promised to do so, and added, 'Madame Dupleix has said nothing severe about you for the last twenty days. I expect that she will treat you with great respect in future.' I answered, 'How can you say this? She could not change and become kind unless she had first been angry with me. But as she has always been kind to me, I am astonished at what you say.' He laughed heartily when I said this, and asked me if I were serious. I said, 'Why do you ask?'—He said, 'You are hiding your real thoughts. Why, everyone from Madras to Negapatam, knows that Madame Dupleix is bent upon injuring you. The new-born child knows as much. So I am astonished at your speaking thus; but it is no doubt prudent. However, I will tell you some good news. A certain person has told everything to M. Dupleix—about her abusing you, and making false accusations against you in your absence, and seizing your people. He grew very angry with her, spoke sharply to her, and told her plainly that she had better not speak ill of you again. As he has spoken thus, she will not meddle with you any more

but will turn over a new leaf. M. Paradis also told her plainly in my presence that, if she talked as she did about you, and listened to people's complaints, the Company's business would be hindered. He has also spoken boldly to her about other matters connected with this, and has explained everything about you to the Governor from beginning to end. The Governor said that there was no one so careful of his business as you, that Madame out of her favour to the missionaries had believed whatever they had enviously said to her about you, that he knew all this, and that he would see that she did not listen to them in future. Only recently some one told him all that she did twenty-five days ago, and said that she did whatever she pleased. That is why he was so angry with her. As you are in the Governor's favour, no one can do you any harm.'

Then all those who had gone to mass returned. The good news of the arrival of the ships was as a feast to them. As usual, three salutes and three volleys were fired when they were hearing mass. Then all came and congratulated Madame on the occasion. Afterwards all were invited to a feast. When I was in the midst of the crowd, the Governor, who was delighted at the arrival of the ships, singled me out, and, turning to me, asked if I had known M. le Chevalier d'Albert.[1] I replied, 'He was

[1] He made a voyage to the East Indies in 1724–26. Part of his journal is published in the *Mémoires et Correspondence du Chevalier et du Général de La Farelle*, pp. 213, etc.

once here twenty years ago. He wore a ribbon two fingers wide with a black badge hanging from it. He was then about 40 or 45, and will now be 60 or 65.' The Governor and others agreed, and the former said that great forces were coming. He talked about other matters, and anxiously read the letters from Europe. Then Chandâ Sâhib's son came.

Tuesday, June 25.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, I was told that he was very busy reading the Europe letters received from Madras at half-past six or seven yesterday, and that he had not yet dressed. There were also many Europeans, reading their letters and talking joyfully about the Europe news. My joy knew no bounds when I saw all this, and I thanked God. I think He will be pleased to bless us and maintain us always in our present happiness; and I pray that my lord may win more and more glory and success, and may continue here. Then all the Europeans who were there—M. Guillard, M. Dargy,[2] M. Robert,[3] and others—came up and complimented me, saying that a lucky time had begun both for the French and for me, and then embraced and kissed me. Then M. Guillard said to me, 'M. le Chevalier d'Albert commands thirty ships, and

[1] 15*th Âni, Vibhava.*

[2] I believe he had served as an Ensign in Bengal. He became Sous-Lieutenant in 1734, Lieutenant in 1737, and Capt. in 1750. *See* also Vol. IV, p. 310 *supra.*

[3] A *Commis* in the Company's service. In 1750 he had gone home in ill-health. (*Archives des Colonies* C 2 15.)

M. Marquessac[1] ten ships. M. Bouvet sailed with his squadron to Madras and landed chests of silver there and four hundred soldiers. Then he left one ship[2] and put to sea to meet the other ships and sloops. But I do not know whether they will be here in five or six days or whether they will take ten or fifteen days.[3] Only the Governor knows that. I hear that M. de La Bourdonnais has fled, and the king has ordered all who took his side to be imprisoned and their property seized by the Company. So M. de La Villebague and others who were there[4] have been imprisoned, and their property confiscated to the Company. M. de La Villebague has been arrested and sent here. All who helped M. de La Bourdonnais are to be dealt with similarly. All Dutch ships, wherever they are found and whatever their number, are to be seized. Before M. Bouvet left, he landed five hundred soldiers at Madras. The cross of a *Chevalier de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis* has been sent to M. Paradis.[5]

[1] He had made various voyages eastwards in command of Company's ships. He himself was a King's officer, and La Farelle says he organised the great fête at Pondichery in 1730 in honour of the Dauphin's birth. La Farelle, *Mémoires et Correspondence*, pp. 60 and 74.

[2] This was the Dutch prize, left at Madras to be examined and condemned. *See* above p. 64.

[3] There must have been bitter disappointment when these expected ships failed to appear.

[4] I.e. in the French islands. I do not find mention of any one else being arrested at the French Islands. Desjardins was arrested at Pondichery and La Gatinais in France.

[5] He had been warmly recommended by Dupleix for his services at Kârikâl and Madras. Dupleix had wanted to get him a commission as Lieut.-Colonel, so as to have him in command of the French troops; but this was refused. (*Cultru* p. 223.) Instead he was given the rank of Councillor, 'Grade qui suivant les intentions du Roy vous donnera toujours le commandement partout où l'on vous destinera.' (*Nazelle* p. 304).

It is not known what secret news there may be, but this is what I have heard up to now.' Just then, a European came out and said that the Governor wanted M. Duquesne. I hear that, as soon as he returned after speaking with the Governor, five or six Europeans with some horsemen were sent to the Valudâvûr gate. I asked one of the Europeans what all this hurry was about. He told me that M. Desjardins had gone to his garden near Nainiya Pillai's, and that M. Le Maire and M. Desmarêts had gone to arrest him and sequestrate his property; and soon after I heard that he had been arrested.[1] As I could not go and speak to the Governor, I stayed till noon at the nut-godown and then came home. As it was new-moon day, I bathed, ate my food, chewed betel, and slept for nearly a quarter of an hour.

I was then told that the Governor had sent for me. As soon as he saw me, he said, 'It will take twelve or thirteen days to fetch the silver from Madras and coin it here. As it is only six days to pay-day, remind the merchants, and write to Arunâchalam to send money in time; they might delay as the ships have arrived. Write also to Guntûr Bâli Chetti who has gone to Madras. It is known where M. de La Bourdonnais has landed,[2] and

[1] He was arrested for complicity in La Bourdonnais' misdeeds at Madras, but Dupleix admitted afterwards that there was no evidence against him but 'his imprudent conduct.' Dupleix to the minister, Feb. 28, 1749 (*Archives des Colonies*).

[2] La Bourdonnais was not allowed to leave England until February, 1748 (B.M. Add 32811 f. 212). The letters just received from France were of an earlier date than that.

people have been sent to seize him. The minister writes that all who helped him are to be imprisoned and their property confiscated to the Company. Supposing us still to be at war with the Muhammadans, he says that we are to seek their friendship and make peace even at a cost of two lakhs of pagodas, and that the goods that remained unsold in the warehouses[1] have fetched fifteen or twenty-thousand pagodas.' I replied, 'If we had sold them here, they would hardly have fetched five or six thousand pagodas. But though we invoiced them at twice as much, yet they have fetched (including expenses) 80,000 rupees.'—'That is so,' he said; and added, 'There is some important news, which I will tell you at leisure. You must buy about 500 garse of paddy. As a large number of people are expected, you must arrange for the necessary supply. You must also buy about 1,000 pallas[2] of wheat. We generally supply the seamen with different kinds of pulse, and so you must buy a large quantity of that also.'—'Very well, Sir,' I replied; 'but wheat is very dear now; it will cost a great deal at the present price.' He then asked if it had not fallen. When I said it had not, he told me to find out the market price. I said I would do so, and then said, 'You told me that M. de La Bourdonnais had landed somewhere and that the Minister had ordered him to be seized. But I hear that he has escaped.' He

[1] *Quere*, from the last sale by the Company?

[2] *See* vol. iv, p. 36 n. 1 *supra*.

answered, 'My letters from the Minister and the Company say so too. But in a separate letter which they have written to me, they say that M. de La Bourdonnais took a Portuguese ship lying in that harbour, and sailed to Lisbon, the king of Portugal's capital.'[1]

Then he called for his clothes, and went into his room, saying before he went, 'I told you to send 5,000 pagodas a month to Madras from this month onwards. As now there is plenty of money there, you need not send any.' I said that I would tell the Company's merchants, and, as I was going out, he said, 'As M. Dubois is M. de La Villebague's attorney, I, M. Le Maire and M. Desmarêts are going to M. Dubois, and we shall deliver the money, bonds, etc., to whoever is named *procureur du roi*.[2]' I replied, 'God has punished them according to their evil deeds.' He agreed.

When I got to the nut-godown, I wrote to Arunâchala Chetti at Lâlâpêttai and to Guntûr Bâli Chetti at Madras, sent the letter to Madras by a runner, and despatched two men express to Lâlâpêttai. When I was standing outside after I had

[1] There seems a confusion here between Madame de La Bourdonnais and her husband. She did sail to Lisbon on a Portuguese ship; he sailed on a Dutch ship for Europe, and was arrested at Falmouth when his ship put into that harbour.

[2] In this connection, Dupleix wrote to the Minister in his letter of Jan. 15, 1749 (*Archives des Colonies*) that Dubois was known attorney to La Villebague and might be to La Bourdonnais as well; and that accordingly all his papers and effects had been examined, and those relating to La Villebague had been delivered to the person named as Sequestrator by the Council.

sent them off, the Governor went to M. Dubois' house, seized all M. de La Villebague's papers and gave them to M. Le Maire and M. Desmarêts to be sealed up and sent away. Then he went out for a drive, and, coming back past my nut-godown, he called for me and ordered me to meet him at his house.

When I went he said, 'Come and see my luck.' Then he took me into his writing-room, and showed me where four cubits square of the chunam from the wall had fallen on his table, saying, 'As soon as you had gone, I came back here to write. Then I got up, moved away a few steps, and called for my coat. It was brought, and, the instant I had put it on, the chunam fell. If it had come on my head, I should have been killed, but God saved me.' I replied with compliments, 'Assuredly he did. You have acquired virtue by protecting the people; by your means the King of France has won glory and success in India during these troubles. He is destined to win yet more, and so God has preserved you. What other cause could there be?'—Then M. Burat came. The Governor went away talking to him, so I went to the nut-godown.

The Governor sent for me again and said, 'You told me that Âsârappan's petition was coming. Where is it?'—I replied, 'I said nothing because you were busy with the Europe letters. If you please, I will send for him now.' I then sent Sûrappa Mudali to fetch Âsârappan with his

petition, and it was accordingly presented at seven o'clock. The Governor sent for me and Lazar We both went accordingly, and found Malayappa Mudali and Sûrappa Mudali there. After hearing them, the Governor ordered Dairiyanâthan to be imprisoned in the Choultry. He then called me and said, 'What does Âsârappan's wife say about it? Question her and tell me.' I went accordingly, questioned her, wrote down her answers, had them attested by those who accompanied me, and tied the paper up. [ ]

Wednesday, June 26 [1].—When I went to the Governor's this morning, I found him busy reading some letters, but I told him in detail what had happened last night, when I went to Âsârappan's wife, and what she had said. As he was busy with the letters, he said he would enquire into it later, and told me to send for 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan. He ordered the sepoys stationed at the bound-hedge and 'Abd-ul-rahmân's picked sepoys to be assembled, the European and Muhammadan horsemen to be got ready, and all the horses in the town to be seized. I suppose by this that he intends to attack Fort St. David, as the ships have arrived.[2]

I then went to the nut-godown, and while I was talking with Avây Sâhib, he told me the following news from Nizâm-ul-mulk's camp : 'They

[1] 16*th Âni, Vibhava.*

[2] Not so much because the French ships had arrived, as because Griffin's squadron had sailed in pursuit, thus leaving Fort St. David uncovered.

say that Nizâm-ul-mulk poisoned himself because he heard that Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân, his eldest son, who was with the Pâdshâh at Delhi, had been sent for by Ahmad Pâdshâh as soon as he ascended the throne, had been accused of secretly assisting the Pathans, and ordered along with his sons and friends to be executed, besides three or four other nobles who had done the like. Ahmad Shâh also appointed as the new Nizâm, the son of Qamar-ud-dîn Khân who was killed at Lahore. Nizâm-ul-mulk could not bear to live after hearing that his son and his grandsons had thus been executed. He remembered how old he was, and what high rank he had held, and thought it would be foolish to survive such news, seeing that in any case he must die to-day or to-morrow. So he took the cup of poison, after summoning Nâsîr Jang to his Court and giving his treasure into his charge. He then went and lay down, and soon after died. Then all learnt what had happened and he was buried. Nâsîr Jang is in great fear.'

Nizâm-ul-mulk was once able to set up and pull down emperors, and filled twenty subahs with terror when he fought against the Pâdshâh, but he procured his own death on hearing that, by God's permission, his son and his family had been executed by the Pâdshâh. He thought only of the dishonour that had befallen him, and forgot how little it matters who dies or lives, and felt no desire for vengeance. So he poisoned himself, not caring to

live after his name had been tarnished. None can escape, when God so wills, and, as the proverb says, wit is powerless against fate. Who can disbelieve it that has seen it happen? It has been so now.

There is news that Murtazâ 'Âlî Khân is collecting horse at Vellore and preparing to challenge Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and seize the subah of Arcot. Therefore Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has ordered 5,000 horse to be raised, and is now at Gingee. There is great confusion at Arcot and people are taking to flight.[1]

I did not go out this afternoon as I felt heavy. The Governor and the Second sent for me, but I sent word that I was unwell.

The Second then sent a message by Kangipâti Vîrâ Chetti, saying that he wanted twenty-five corge of Salem longcloth (Dutch sort) and twenty-five corge of Chennamanâyakkanpâlaiyam longcloth, 9 kâls wide. Vîrâ Chetti came and told me, adding that I might get the money from the Company's merchants, crediting their accounts at the Fort for it. I said that I would do so, and dismissed him. He said that the Second wanted me to come to the Fort in the morning. I said, 'Very well; tell him I will.'

There was half an inch of rain in the night.

There is nothing else worth writing.

[1] Murtazâ 'Alî alleged his preparations to be directed only against his brother, Razâ 'Alî Khân (*Country Correspondence* 1748, p. 94); but the prevalent feeling of unrest and Murtazâ 'Alî's character make the other version very probable.

Thursday, June 27.[1]—At about half-past five, the European horse and 'Abd-ul-rahmân's Muhammadan horse left by the Madras gate, and joined the troops encamped at Muttirusa Pillai's choultry. They are ordered to march to-night for Fort St. David in three divisions. I think there are two objects—first, to secure the arrival of the men landed at Madras if that can be conveniently managed; and secondly, to bring M. Paradis here in safety, by surrounding their town so that none may get out. There is nothing else worth writing.

The Governor sent for me at eight o'clock to-night and asked when the money would come. I told him that it would arrive from Lâlâpêttai the day after to-morrow.

Afterwards I heard the sound of guns at Cuddalore. I suppose some one has died.[2] The Governor thought so too. Madame Dupleix has engaged a Palli from Porto Novo, who pretends to have been Poligar at Fort St. David. She has given him a horse and a few long gowns, and sent with him head-peon Savarimuttu the lame, head-peon Muttu, and some others. She sent for Appu, the Palli, a letter-writer, and told him to send her all the secret news by runners. I shall write any other news as soon as I hear it.

Friday, June 28.[3]—When I went to the Governor's

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[1] *17th Âni, Vibhava.*

[2] The Fort St. David Consultations fail to confirm this conjecture.

[3] *18th Âni, Vibhava.*

this morning, he asked whether anything had been heard of the detachment that was sent off yesterday. I said that news would come presently. As he was in deep thought about this matter, I went to the nut-godown and came home at noon.

There is news from Arcot that Bangâru Yâchama Nâyakkan, the Moghul Mansabdar, died on Saturday, the fifth day after the Jêshta new moon. He was deemed the chief man in the Carnatic and highly respected by the Moghuls. He was famous throughout the Carnatic as a prince and as a man learned in the four Shâstras. Moreover all knew his courage and power, and feared him. The Muhammadans trembled before him. Nizâm-ul-mulk and the Moghul regarded him. He always paid his debts, lived magnificently, and, though subordinate to the Nawâb, was held by him in fear. Such is the man who has completed his days. He leaves two sons, the elder peaceable, the younger evil. Not only have they always disputed together, but the younger was always disobedient, and his father dreaded the troubles that would arise by reason of his turbulence. So great a man has now completed his days.[1] We

[1] He was Râjâ of Venkatagiri. In the 'Biographical Sketches of the Râjâs of Venkatagiri' by T. Râma Râo (Madras, 1875) there is an account of Sarvagna Kumâra Yâchama Nâyak who is there stated to have died in 1747 and appears to be the man Ranga Pillai here alludes to. He was born in 1690, and is said to have composed a Sanskrit poem. His sons were Bangâru Yâchama Nâyak and Peddu Yâchama Nâyak. The latter seems to have attempted a rebellion in his father's life-time; the brothers divided the estate in 1749; but on Peddu Yâchama Nâyak's death in 1753 the estate was again united.

do not know how the brothers will behave one to the other; whether troubles will arise out of their rivalry, or whether by good fortune they will unite and become famous. He owed Sunguvâr Lakshmana Nâyakkan 60,000 Madras star pagodas. When the money was formerly demanded, he said he would pay only a rupee in the pagoda. Sambu Dâs and others urged him to pay half a pagoda, but he would not. Now he is dead, and it remains to be seen whether his sons will refuse to pay, or will agree to pay a part in order to extinguish their father's debts. There is nothing else worth writing.

Saturday, June 29.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he said he had heard that it had been impossible to attack[2] on Thursday night, but that they would do so on Friday; they must therefore have made the attack last night. As he was speaking, a maid-servant came and told him that Madame wanted him. So he went in, and, after speaking with her, came out on to the verandah and said, 'Our people took Cuddalore last night; they scaled the walls, and leaped down and cut to pieces

[1] 19*th Âni, Vibhava.*

[2] Sc. Cuddalore. The Fort St. David Consultations (under the dates June 17 and 18, 1748) state that the French forces consisted of 2,000 men, of whom 900 were Europeans; that they attacked Cuddalore at 9–15 on the night of June 17/28, Lawrence having given out a report that he was withdrawing his men from the town into the Fort; and that the French losses were believed to have been 200 men, while the English had not a man touched. Malleson's version of this attack (*History of the French in India*, p. 214) is remarkable for its inaccuracies of statement and comment. See also p. 92 below.

the Carnatic sepoys there. Some tried to open the gates and escape; but our people outside seized and bound them. A few have escaped. A man has just brought the news to Madame.' He added that many must have been killed, and that there would be much plunder. Madame has been so busy with this matter—sending spies to the camp and getting news—that she had no time even to go to church on St. Peter's feast. Just then Madame came through the central hall. M. Dupleix went and asked what she wanted. She said, 'Ignace must be sent at once. As the army is in Cuddalore, M. de La Tour should be sent to reinforce them.' At once Ignace and one or two topass horse-keepers were called, and Madame Dupleix told them everything, explaining the matter to them, ordered them to ride as hard as they could to M. de La Tour at Marikrishnâpuram, and tell him to move on Cuddalore by way of Tiruvêndipuram. They were told to use their spurs well.

The Governor was overjoyed, first because Madame had managed all this business without worrying him, and secondly because she would be honoured for the capture of Fort St. David and Cuddalore by the king of France, by the other kings of Europe, and by the Muhammadan chiefs, Nawâbs, nobles, etc., and by the Emperor himself, just as he himself had been when M. de La Bourdonnais captured Madras. He was therefore filled with joy and told all the Europeans who visited him that

Cuddalore had fallen without a blow owing to his wife's counsel, just as he had related it to me. He was in this transport of joy when Madame despatched Ignace and went to church at about ten o'clock.

Before she came back, the Governor came and said, 'The merchants at Cuddalore will have carried off all their money, but I do not know if they will have removed their goods. The man who brought the news is in Madame's room and he must remain there.' So saying, he went in, asked him to relate the whole story, and took great pleasure in it. When he was questioning me, I told him that this and that would happen, and, guessing his intention, answered so as to please him. When he went to Madame, I departed to the nut-godown.

When I was there, Ignace, the topass who was sent to M. de La Tour, brought news which he had picked up on the way. It is as follows:—The spy who came in last night (Friday) led our men towards Cuddalore and Porto Novo; they scaled the wall with the help of ladders; but the English knew our people were coming and only pretended that there were no troops; so our men were taken unawares; they fell to the ground; some were wounded, and others cast away their arms where they stood, and fled in all directions—to Tiruviti, Panruti, Tiruvêndipuram and elsewhere. If those within had known that there would be such a panic, and if they had only opened the gates and surrounded the

French, all would have been cut to pieces. But God willed otherwise; and as the French have good days awaiting them, the English refrained from marching out for fear of an ambush, and only mounted the ramparts and fired from there. The French losing their way, wandered hither and thither for nearly two hours, and fled not knowing whither they went. Some have reached the camp at Muttirusa Pillai's choultry. This is what Ignace heard and reported to the Governor. I heard the same from the unlucky people who accompanied the camp. Then I left the nut-godown and came home.

The Company's peons, Chellappan and Mailappan, who set out this evening with letters for Kârikâl, told me the following news when I was sitting by my palankin under the tulip tree near the old Madras gate with Vîrâ Nâyakkan and Krishna Râo:—'When we were coming back after delivering the packet to the Chidambaram runners, we heard at Venkatâmpêttai and Sellânjêri that ten sepoys were lying wounded at the Mâttukkâran Choultry near Sellânjêri, and that Manian, one of the Company's peons, was with them. The son-in-law of Kûttan, of Fort St. David, who pretended to reveal all the secrets of that place and offered to lead our people secretly to Cuddalore, was really an English spy and had told them when he would bring the French. So, on arriving at Cuddalore, he cunningly slipped away

from our people. We were surprised by those inside; so all threw away their arms and fled for their lives to Tiruviti, Panruti, Mêttupâlaiyam, Bhuvanagiri and other places. Moreover Akkal Nâyakkan's men waylaid them, seized their clothes, weapons and all else, and left them with hardly a rag to cover their nakedness. Even the country people and Pariahs were treated in the same way. It is said that 'Alî Khân and others with 250 or 300 sepoys have reached Panruti and Tiruviti; and parties of wounded have been seen, five or ten together, in five or six places. A trooper who escaped to Nellikuppam, was pursued by ten men who meant to carry him to Fort St. David. Having his two pistols loaded, he shot his horse with one, and with the other he shot himself in the throat. The shot went right through his neck and killed a Muhammadan boy close by in a betel garden. The horse, the sepoy and the boy are all dead.' I heard this at six o'clock this evening.

When I was going to the nut-godown, a cat crossed the road and I went into the Palla street. There again I met an oil-seller[1], and Vîrâ Nâyakkan advised me to chew betel and wait about half an hour in the street. I got out of my palankin, and after waiting for about half an hour near the

[1] The cat crossing his path and the meeting an oil-seller are both ill-omens; it will be observed that Ranga Pillai seeks to avert the impending misfortune by breaking his journey, as well as by chewing betel—in itself an auspicious action.

cobbler's shop chewing betel, I reached the nut-godown at seven o'clock. Just then two peons came to me from the Governor. I guessed that he wished to know if the money were ready, as Monday is the pay-day. As soon as I arrived, he came and asked if any money had come in from Lâlâpêttai. I said that some had been received, that the rest would come to-morrow, and that I would give thirty or thirty-five thousand rupees towards the monthly pay. 'Can I trust you,' he asked, 'whether the money comes or not?'—'Why do you worry?' I replied. 'Whether I get the money or not, I will arrange for it.' When I said this, he turned to M. Guillard and said, 'Ranga Pillai will give you 35,000 rupees the day after to-morrow.'—'Very well,' he said and went away. As I was about to take leave, he said, 'Ranga Pillai, have you heard the news that a man has just brought to Madame? Our men, in revenge for having been beaten off last night, scaled the walls of Cuddalore at eight or nine this morning, got inside, and cut to pieces all they could find. The white flag is flying on the upper story of a Chetti's house. This is confirmed by what the people at the beach say, that the ships in the roads there have set sail. Moreover M. de La Selle climbed on to the roof of the hospital and saw with a telescope clouds of smoke. Perhaps our people have set fire to the powder magazine, or to some big house or paddy godown.' When he asked me what I had heard, I

said, 'This afternoon I heard that our people had left the place and were marching back. When I was passing by the Valudâvûr gate at nine o'clock this evening, one or two men who go to and fro told me that our people in revenge had attacked Cuddalore again and captured it. I told them that no news had been received, and asked them who had said so. They said that they had heard it from people belonging to Villiyanallûr, Arumpâtai Pillai's choultry and thereabouts, and that they had asked me if it was true, expecting that news would have been received.' I observed that such news could not be trusted, as in half an hour there would be a hundred different reports, that we could only believe what our own people said, and that that was why I had not reported the rumour. He said, 'It is true; we have news that our people fled; and yet what Madame has just heard must also be true for the man says he saw it himself.' When he said that Cuddalore had been captured and that our flag had been hoisted there, there were thirty European officers, writers, Councillors and others. Madame, who had not spoken to me for a year, was so kind as to call out to me joyfully, 'Have you heard the news, Ranga Pillai?' Before I could tell her all I had heard, the Governor said that we had taken Cuddalore so easily because Madame had taken such pains for the last six months, and sent proper persons, and managed matters cleverly. As he was still speaking joyfully of this and other matters, the

Chobdar came and said that Antony (the horse-keeper) and a European kettle-drummer of the troop were in the centre hall. The Governor and Madame both went there at once, and asked where our people were. They replied, 'Of the men who fled last night, some are coming into camp eight or ten at a time; about 500 sepoys, 50 Europeans and 10 horses are missing. 'Abd-ul-rahmân has just come in, but Shaikh Hasan and others are still missing.' On this the Governor asked if our people were in Cuddalore. They said, 'No, but we do not know where the people are who fled last night. They all scattered. But how could they again approach Cuddalore? But for God's favour, not a soul would have escaped; if only the English had known the panic that arose when they fired on us, and if they had sent out but 50 men with swords, every man would have been cut off. Luckily God filled the English with fear lest, if they marched out, they should be killed, and so they never even opened the gates. Else we had never got away safely.' When they had spoken thus, they stood there; but Madame, turning to Antony, said in Tamil, 'Liar! how dare you say such things?' Then she went into her room. The Governor wrung his hands, saying, 'What news! what cursed news!', and went out by the south door. I left by the opposite way and went to the nut-godown.

I heard that the Governor came back and asked what had become of the spy. They said, 'All this happened because of his treachery. He was leading

us through the darkness and slipped away without our knowing. We went groping on, and thought we were at Cuddalore. It was pitch dark. The soldiers had had no food for three days and were faint. So they were taken with panic, threw away their arms, and fled in tens and twenties. For two hours they did not know friend from foe, or what way they went. We have escaped because God designs greater fortune for you, because we were destined to preserve our lives, and because the terror of our former fights was still fresh in their minds. It could not have been more fortunate for us, and, considering our position, we might have come much worse off. The spy belonged to that place; he warned them of all that would be done. He arranged the time when he was to bring us there, so that we might be shot down. With that intent, he treacherously led us there and disappeared.' Having explained all things to the Governor and the other Europeans, they then went to their quarters. Then I went to the nut-godown.

In spite of what Chellappan the Company's peon and others had told me this evening, I answered the Governor in his own vein, thinking that I had best not contradict him, as he was saying that such and such news had been received by Madame. If I had, and if by chance I had been wrong, I should have suffered severely; and, if I had proved right, I should have gained nothing—Madame would have

been more displeased than ever, and the Governor would have grown angry with me. I could not remain silent, because he said only last night, that I knew everything but was concealing what I knew. So fearing he should get angry with me if I hid the news from him, I gave him hints of what I had heard, and then the news arrived, so that all came out. Till eight o'clock to-night, no news was received about what happened last night. If anybody but Madame had been managing matters, some one would have been punished for this. Our army's defeat by the spy's treachery, and its headlong flight, have tarnished the glory that was formerly won; and if this had happened under anyone else's management, surely he would have been hanged—no less punishment would have served. The wise can judge for themselves; so I have not written in detail. I stayed at the nut-godown till nine o'clock and then came home.

Sunday, June 30.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he was talking with M. de Mainville and others. After they had gone, he called me and said, 'On enquiring about what took place, I learn that it was all due to the spy who went with them.' He then asked how far Cuddalore was from Tiruviti and Panruti. 'Twenty miles,' I replied.

He then asked whether any money would arrive to-day. I replied that some was coming this evening,

[1] *20th Âni, Vibhava.*

and that I would pay at least 30,000 rupees to-morrow. 'Very well,' he said. As he was much troubled at what happened yesterday, he spoke but little to anyone. I and Tânappa Mudali waited, but seeing that it was no time to talk to the Governor, we went into writer Ranga Pillai's office.

Presently a Chobdar came and told me that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he showed me a chisel weighing half a seer and asked what it was. I told him it was a stone-cutter's chisel. He then asked its price. I said that they used to be sold at 8 pagodas a thousand, but that I did not know what they cost now. 'Well,' he said, 'whatever they cost, get me thirty or forty candies of chisels like this.' I said I would; and he repeated five or six times that I must be sure and get them. I said, 'I will do so, Sir,' and went to the nut-godown.

The Chobdar came again and said that M. Cornet had gone to the Governor, and that he wanted me at once. When I went, he asked how many garse of paddy were in store. I told him there were 60 garse; and he, turning to M. Cornet said, 'There are 60 garse of paddy. You say that we should contract and get it beaten into rice. You may do so with all the paddy that Ranga Pillai buys, and send it into the fort. If rice comes in, buy it for the Company.' M. Cornet thereon told me to deliver 40 out of the 60 garse to Mâriyappa Mudali; and he said that the rest, with two garse and a half more, would suffice the sepoys for this month and that I

was to enter 62½ garse delivered in this month's account by me. I said I had spent all the money that had been advanced for paddy. He said that he would pay whatever I wanted, and then went away. The Governor then said to me, 'A large number of Europeans are coming, and so you must have at least 500 garse of rice ready.' I said I would see to it; and he added, 'The Europeans who are coming must be given rice, not paddy. Remember this, and have it ready.' I said I would. He then went into his writing-room, and I went to the nut-godown.

I expected Madame and the Governor to go to church together to-day, as usual, but she went alone at ten o'clock, looking very down-cast. She is greatly troubled. Perhaps he was angry and scolded her for the dishonour brought upon him last night by having entrusted her with the management of affairs; or perhaps he was angry at having believed and repeated her false news, as his shame will be publicly known in France. So he may have scolded her, and recalled all the injustice she had done in the town. That must be why she keeps her room and is overcome with grief. But as she is obstinate, I expect she will get the management of affairs again. Any other woman would never have interfered in public matters again; but she is a Nîli.[1] Poets say that

[1] Sister of Nîla, one of the monkey chiefs in the *Râmâyana*, referred to as a type of cruelty and shamelessness.

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there is such a one for each of the four ages. When the first spoke, the tides were swallowed up; when the second spoke, the stars fell; when the third spoke, the world trembled; but Madame is all these at once. I think she cares little for her husband's anger, but she is much alarmed lest he should give the management of affairs to some one else as she has publicly dishonoured him. There can be no other reason. The Shâstras say that a house or kingdom governed by women will surely fall. M. Dupleix has learnt this now by experience; and every one both within and without the town speaks openly of it. If God now checks her pride, those who dwell or visit here will live in peace; but if He does not, we shall learn that our evil days are not yet past.

The merchants received 10,000 rupees from Arcot at two o'clock to-day for to-morrow's pay. The Governor sent for me this evening and asked if the merchants had received any money. I said that I would pay what I had promised yesterday, and then went to the nut-godown. When M. Guillard went and asked the Governor about it, he told him to go to me, saying that I would pay it to-morrow. So M. Guillard came to the nut-godown and told me that the Governor had ordered him to get money for to-morrow's pay from me; and he asked whether I should be able to produce it. I sent him away, saying that I would give it to-morrow morning.

JULY 1748.

Monday, July 1.[1]—I gave M. Legou this morning 4,000 Star pagodas and 20,000 rupees which I made ready last night, took a receipt, and returned. Then I went to the Governor and told him. M. Legou too came and told him what I had paid in.

The Governor then said that he was sure that he need not remind me about getting paddy, and that I must deliver 500 garse to the Company. I said I would do so.

Then 'Abd-ul-rahmân came and said, 'Malrâjâ's people have surrounded 'Alî Khân beyond Tiruviti and Panruti; but, as 'Alî Khân has 300 men, he is sure to disperse them, and return in safety.' The Governor then asked him in what order and by what road they had gone to Cuddalore. He replied, 'I do not know the road we took or where we went. We went where the spy told us, but, when we wanted him, they said that he was not to be found, and we went on without knowing where we were. When we could go no further, we ran into the wall. Some bruised themselves against it, others fell and got up again—that was what happened. But when we, guessing it to be the Cuddalore wall, scaled it with a ladder, a sentinel fired at us, and at once there followed a heavy fire from all sides, to which we replied. We then knelt down as we were ordered.

[1] 21*st Âni, Vibhava.*

Some of the Europeans were exhausted and some drunk.[1] It was so dark, we could not see whether those near us were friends or foes. Some fired, supposing the enemy to be in front and on all sides. Then we all scattered. No one would have escaped from such a trap, if but fifty men had opened the gates and attacked us. But as God willed otherwise, as He favours you and you favour us, and as great glory still awaits you, they feared to come out of their walls.'[2] As 'Abd-ul-rahmân thus vividly described what had happened, the Governor listened, and only said that it was the spy's doing. He then asked how many men were missing. 'Abd-ul-rahmân said that that could only be known when 'Alî Khân had returned. The Governor then rose, and, as he was going into his room, said, 'The pay of those who have been killed shall be given to their

1 It was an invariable practice to serve the men with a dram and a biscuit before going into action.

2 This version deserves to be compared with a curious letter written by Hyde Parker, an English officer, to Mole, Secretary at the India House (*I.O. Mis. Ltrs Recd.* 1749–50, *No.* 7) :—'The French came against us at Cuddalore where we had then only Captain de Morgan's and Captain Crompton's company with about 80 or 90 peons and sepoys. When the French was near our walls, they marched directly for Porto Novo Gate and the Spur Point, that being very low and easy to be got over, even almost without scaling ladders ; however they brought a number with them. They began their firing about 8 o'clock with firing by platoons very hotly, and at that time we had not 30 rounds a man, our ammunition being all ordered to be sent to the Fort some days before ; and it was excessive dark They had horsemen who rid round to see if they could find any place unmanned. . . . But what struck a terror into the French was, when the firing was hot at the Porto Novo Gate, our people by some mistake (though a lucky one) began firing all round Cuddalore, which put the French into great confusion, imagining we had all our force at Cuddalore. . . .'

families. Find out how many muskets and pistols have been lost. If those who have been killed have left no families, we need not trouble about them.' 'Abd-ul-rahmân then said, 'Five or six horses have been killed; but the rest will only be known on 'Alî Khân's return.' So saying, he took leave, and we went together to the nut-godown. There 'Abd-ul-rahmân repeated the whole story to me at ten times greater length, dwelling especially upon the spy's treachery. 'It was not the Commander's fault,' he said; 'Our people had had no food for three days, and, as soon as they took some liquor, they at once lost their senses, dropped their arms and fell down before the enemy. Could we have been worse off? Nearly all the detachment were in this state. It is plain that the enemy would have killed us all if we had stayed where we were. But, in spite of all, the enemy did not kill us; as good days still await us, we escaped. You can judge for yourself.' He added: 'Many fights have I seen and heard of; many battles have I fought; but never before have I seen men losing their senses at sight of the enemy and throwing away their arms in such a panic. As for the enemy, never have I seen men lose such a chance, or fear to open their gates for nearly two hours. But they feared us and kept inside. Never have I seen such a thing before! Has there ever been a kingdom ruled by a woman which was not ruined? But as by God's favour good fortune awaits us, our people escaped.' He

said this in the hearing of all, and then talked about other matters. I cannot write the scorn with which the officers and even the soldiers speak of the Governor for having left the management of affairs to his wife. I dare not write or even recollect it. Then he took leave and departed.

I cannot write all that M. de Mainville, and the other officers who took the field, say about M. Dupleix' entrusting state affairs to his wife. They accuse her of trying to make an end of them by treachery. I cannot write such things; nor have I written in detail, as the wise will understand. There is not a person in the European quarter, man or woman, who does not speak ill of the Governor. Many who were robbed by Akkal Nâyakkan's spies come and tell me that they have lost their coats, muskets, pistols, etc. I hear that little money, only a few clothes, but a good many muskets have been lost, and that Akkal Nâyakkan and the people of Tiruvêndipuram are much afraid that we shall lay the fault on them, and catch and punish them. [.]

Tuesday, July 2.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, I heard that head-peon Savarimuttu the lame had been sent to bring the spy who pretended to guide our people to Cuddalore. He was to promise that the Governor would not punish him, and to say that he had done his

[1] *22nd Âni, Vibhava.*

work as a spy well enough, that it was not his fault if the troops behaved imprudently and fled, and that if he refused to come the French would really believe he had betrayed them. Moreover Savarimuttu was to remind him that he had never promised that the English would open their gates for the French to walk in and hoist their flag without a blow, but had only said that he would guide them to Cuddalore which, if the English were off their guard, could be captured at once, or, even if they were on the alert, could be taken in a little time before reinforcements[1] could arrive; whereas, as soon as they reached the place and twenty or thirty shots were fired, the French fled, and so it could not be reckoned his fault. Savarimuttu, persuading him with these words, brought him this morning, and reported it to Madame Dupleix who spoke favourably of the matter to her husband. The Governor is telling the Europeans that it was all M. de Mainville's fault, for he is afraid that, if he lays the blame upon the spy, he will be despised for having trusted matters to his wife; and it is even said now that a Topass misreported to M. de Mainville the spy's directions and that was how our people were betrayed. The spy is said to have told the Topass that it was not the right time for an attack, but the Topass told M. de Mainville just the opposite, and that was why

[1] I.e., from Fort St. David, about a mile distant.

the attack was made, and how the danger arose. The Topass was put in the Nayinâr's custody; but when he was questioned before the writer, M. de La Selle,[1] he said he could prove by witnesses that the spy had declared that it was the best time to attack. So the Topass has been released. There is nothing more worth writing.

Wednesday, July 3.[2]—[.]

Thereupon the Governor asked me what the news was from Arcot. I said, 'Nâsîr Jang is very alarmed at his father's place having been given to Qamar-ud-dîn Khân's son.[3] It is known that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân is preparing to take advantage of Nâsîr Jang's alarm by seizing Arcot. So every one at Arcot is in a panic and the place is full of confusion. Moreover people say that the Marathas have reached the Kistna. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has written to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, saying that they should be as father and son, that no tribute need be paid for his forts, and that they should unite. He also complained of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's

[1] There were two brothers of this name in the French Company's service. The one here mentioned must have been the elder, as the other was serving at Yânâm or Masulipatam. Dupleix (as usual) speaks contemptuously of him, saying he is capable of writing and even book-keeping but 'du reste un assez mince sujet.' *Archives des Colonies* C² 15.

[2] *23rd Âni, Vibhava.*

[3] This appears unfounded. Grant Duff (ed. 1912. ii. 28) says that Mir Munû, son of Qamar-ud-dîn, was given the governments of Mûltân and Lahore, while the viziership was offered to Nizâm-ul-mulk who declined it. But the text no doubt reflects current talk in the Carnatic and the uncertainty of men's minds.

collecting more horse and foot than he had ever had before, and said that Mîr Asad, Taqî Sâhib and others knew all about it This is being spoken of all over Arcot, even in the Nawâb's darbâr.

'Besides this, there is secret news that Râjô Pandit told me in confidence. They have heard at Chandâ Sâhib's house that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân went privately to Chêtpattu to see Mîr Asad, and that Chandâ Sâhib has obtained his release, by means of Sâhu Râjâ's wife, from the great Raghôji Bhônsla, by promising 2,10,000 rupees, including the jewels set with diamonds that were sent from here. The money is to be paid in forty days' time. He has also definitely settled the question of Trichinopoly. He has taken his leave, and has been halting 15 miles this side of Trichinopoly with a few men, and means to arrive in these parts in the month of Sha'bân.[1] A letter about his coming was written on the 20th Jamâdî-ul-auwal[2], and was received at his house yesterday by means of Nâgôji Nâyakkan at Arcot. His people are rejoicing at the news and every one is taking nazars to his house, which are being joyfully received. They have written a Maratha letter to announce this happy news to you

[1] Cf. Vol. IV, pp. 124–125 *supra*. It appears that Chandâ Sâhib was released by the Marathas in 1745; Chandâ then took part in a war between the Râjâs of Chitaldrûg and Bednûr, in which he was again made prisoner, and it is presumably his release from this second captivity that is alluded to in the present passage. Cf. *Cultru*, p. 232. The reference to Trichinopoly is almost certainly a slip for some place in the Deccan. In 1748 the month of Sha'bân roughly corresponded with August N.S.

[2] I.e., May 18 or 19 N.S.

and desired me to read to you the [Persian ?] letter that Râjô Pandit has brought.'

On seeing this, the Governor told me to call him. He came, made his salaam, and narrated very respectfully what I had just reported, reading letters to the same effect. When he had read them, he added, 'Razâ Sâhib and his uncle present their compliments and say that, by your favour, their good days have begun. Who will protect them as you have done? When even their brothers and relations forsook them, you helped them with your power, money and counsel,—the only three ways there are of helping people in this world, and you used them all. Your kindness can never be forgotten and their actions shall prove it.' When Râjô Pandit thus complimented the Governor, the latter replied, 'I would even sacrifice French blood to procure Chandâ Sâhib's return, so great is my goodwill. Even before I received the glad news that Chandâ Sâhib was coming in the month of Âvani,[1] I was praying God to bless us with his presence. Give them my compliments.' The Governor told me also to go and offer congratulations. I said I would do so, and, going aside, I dismissed Râjô Pandit, telling him that I would follow him shortly.

The Governor however sent for me again and said, 'Do not forget about the paddy. Ask M. Cornet for whatever money you need. There is no lack of

[1] I.e., August.

money now, and I have told M. Cornet to give you all the money you want. So arrange to get paddy at once.' I promised to see to it.

Then Tânappa Mudali came and said, 'In the matter of the plunder of Alisapâkkam, the arbitrators remitted 1,300 pagodas and declared that the balance must be paid; but M. Dulaurens says that he knows nothing about it and is complaining bitterly.'[1] The Governor replied, 'No doubt, if that is the arbitrators' award, it must be obeyed; but they complained of losing twenty-three garse of paddy and other grain. How can I believe them? How many bullocks would have been needed to carry it away? Besides are they mad enough to have stored up grain in a time of scarcity and war? I cannot believe it.' When the Governor answered frowningly, Tânappa Mudali called me aside and said, 'It was arranged that the Governor should be given 500 pagodas, but it has never been done, because it was thought it would be a serious matter, should M. Dulaurens learn of it. He[2] might take the pagodas now, thinking no harm, but a matter known to ten men cannot be hidden. M. Dulaurens would be certain to hear of it; but even so he can hardly question the Governor. They are only paying me 200 pagodas a year, and I cannot manage everything on that. I can only pay 1,000 rupees. Please speak on my behalf and settle it.' So saying,

[1] Cf. Vol. IV, pp. 122-123 *supra* [2] I.e., M. Dupleix.

he went home. The Governor understood what was wanted.

He then went to attend the Council. I waited about a quarter of an hour, then went to the nut-godown, and thence to Chandâ Sâhib's house about noon. I gave Razâ Sâhib a nazar of 11 rupees and congratulated him in the most complimentary manner I could find, saying that I had been ordered by the Governor to express his joy at Chandâ Sâhib's release and departure. Similarly I sent Chandâ Sâhib's wife a nazar of 11 rupees also, with congratulations. She accepted the nazar and returned my compliments politely, to which I made a suitable rejoinder. Then Razâ Sâhib complimented me and I replied. As I have already written about it, I will not write it again. Then I was given a dress of honour worth thirty rupees, and Madanânda Pandit received one worth about three-quarters as much. We accepted them and departed. My nazars amounted to 22 rupees and the dress of honour which they gave was worth thirty.

I heard that the English ships which went in pursuit of the French, having sailed as far as Madras and returned unsuccessful, had cast anchor in our roads at six o'clock this evening, intending to proceed to Cuddalore to-morrow. I went to look at them, and on my return I was told that the Governor had sent for me. So at seven o'clock I went to see him. He rose and came at once into the centre hall, and said, 'M. Barthélemy writes that the

Company's merchants have still to pay 1,000 rupees at Madras, and that though he told them to remove the bales from the cotton godown, their people have been delaying. They have not troubled to sell it, as the profit or loss is all mine. How many candies of cotton have been sold up to now?' I told him that of the whole quantity about 200 bags had been sold. He asked what price it had been sold for. I said the price had ranged from 24 to 26½.[1] He answered, 'The cotton was of the first quality and they could easily have sold it at first. But they did nothing because it was not theirs. It may as well be thrown into the street.' He was indescribably angry as he said this, so I made no answer.[2]

He then asked what copper was selling at. I told him, at 81 pagodas a candy for ready money. He observed, 'Copper generally is 90 or 100 pagodas a candy. Why do they sell it now at 81? I suppose they are trying to make as much profit as they can. We delivered copper to them, thinking they were respectable people, so that they might sell it at the market price and take the usual commission. Now they are trying to cheat us. Tell them to return our copper and broadcloth; I will pay the expenses. Besides, they promised to weigh off and take the sugar-candy, but they still have not taken

[1] I.e., pagodas the candy. A subsequent passage shows that the remaining part of the cotton had to be sold at a loss. See p. 102 *infra*.
[2] See Vol. IV, p. 234.

it. 'Tell them to make up their accounts and pay whatever may be due.' I told him that the merchants were already complaining of his wanting the cotton business settled and meaning to make them responsible for it; but that I would send for them in ten days and settle accounts. 'Did these people not make an agreement about the cotton?' he asked. 'They have indeed,' I replied, 'and they have always said that if there were any loss they could come to you about it.' He answered, with boundless anger, 'Have they dared to say so? I suppose it is your fault that this loss will fall on me. Anyhow, settle the matter at 18 pagodas and tell the merchants to pay what is owing. They can throw the cotton into the street. If it had been theirs, they would have taken care of it; but, as it was mine, they have let it rot.' So saying, he went in for a time, but came back to tell me to bring the merchants to-morrow. I went to the nut-godown and came home at nine o'clock at night.

Saturday, July 6.[1]—The Governor sent M. d'Auteuil and others to Sadras with European and Muhammadan troopers and a hundred sepoys to escort forty chests, containing 60,000 dollars, out of the ten lakhs and a chest of gold that were landed at Madras some time ago by the eight ships. They took leave, saying that they would set out this afternoon. Orders were given for the issue of provisions and liquor for them.

[1] *26th Âni, Vibhava.*

'Alî Naqî Sâhib's vakîl has written the following news from Arcot :—

'Nawâb Murtazâ 'Alî Khân is preparing to seize Arcot, and is collecting horse and peons. He has asked the Marathas, Parsôji and Narasinga Râo, for 3,000 horse and 10,000 foot. He and Mîr Asad are at the head of 2,000 horse and 6,000 foot. So Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is in great alarm, and has determined to send Zain-ud 'Alî Khân to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân. He has got a part of the 5,000 horse that he ordered to be raised. There is news that Chandâ Sâhib has arrived on the further bank of the Kistna with Fatteh Singh, Raghôji Bhônsla and 60,000 Maratha horse. People belonging to the Emperor have stabbed Nâsîr Jang in an interview with him. So the whole of Arcot is in great confusion and the people are all trying to escape.'

When I interpreted this letter to the Governor, he thought at once that the people of Arcot would take refuge in Pondichery, and so he would get great sums of money.[1] I cannot describe his joy.

Then he asked how many sepoys were under me. I said there were 380. He told me to complete them to 400.

I then said that both our company and the Company's merchants had sent great quantities of goods to Arcot, and that their people at Arcot desired a letter to be written to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân

[1] *Quere*, by selling the privilege of admission?

and some peons to be sent. Thereupon he ordered thirty musketeers to be sent with a pass.

He then asked if 'Alî Naqî had gone to his father. I replied, 'He sent me word to get a passport from you and send it to him. He also desired me to pay his farewell compliments to you and Madame, and to say that he was only awaiting your orders to set out.' The Governor said that he could go when he pleased, and ordered a pass to be prepared. I wrote one out. He signed it and told me to tell 'Alî Naqî Sâhib that he had forfeited his friendship by being unwilling to trust him for a week. I repeated this to Râjô Pandit and sent him away with the pass.

I then told the Governor that six or seven ships belonging to the King of Achin and others were about to return from Porto Novo, Nagore and Negapatam, and that five or six ships belonging to the King of Quedah were sailing as well. 'Very well,' he said, 'send for our *toccador*[1] at Porto Novo.' I said I would write to him. He then asked what news had come from Cuddalore. I said, 'None.' As it was past noon, I came home and went thence to feast at Cuddapah Nâgôji Râo's house.

The detachment that has been ordered to escort the silver hither set out for Sadras this evening. At about half-past six or seven to-night, letters

[1] The *toccador* (i.e., the assayer) was a person very necessary in trading to Achin and similar places whence returns were made in gold-dust, which needed testing. One was regularly sent on ships trading to the eastward.

arrived from Bengal with news for Madame Dupleix of the death of Madame d'Espréménil. Madame is feeling the loss deeply.

The Governor sent for me at eight o'clock and said [ ].

Then he asked how far Gingee was from Chidambaram. I told him it was 60 or 70 miles. He then asked how far Gingee was from here, and I told him 50 miles. Again he asked how many ways there were from here to Gingee, and I told him that there were two. After this he said, 'Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti has been in prison nearly a year, but you have let his affair continue unsettled. Either let him go if he comes to his senses, or punish him so that he will never forget it, and expel him from the town.' I explained that I had already told him that he would lose his ears if he did not recover his senses. 'Anyhow,' the Governor said, 'tell him he must make up his mind one way or the other, and we will treat him accordingly. Don't forget this.' I said I would attend to it.

He then said, 'If Lazar settles Âsârappan's affair, well and good; but otherwise some one else will be appointed, on condition of paying the amount, as I have already ordered. I won't wait a day longer.'—'Since you are in haste,' I answered, 'shall I delay? I will appoint proper persons at once and let you know the result.'

The Governor continued: 'The Bengal letters say that the Maratha troubles are very severe. As

the Emperor's name has been communicated to us, a new stamp must be made accordingly.'[1] I replied, 'The name of the new Emperor was communicated to us only a week ago. When I proposed to get a new stamp with your[2] name cut on it, you approved. An engraver from Âlambarai has come. I have shown him the inscription and he is working at the stamp.' He asked me if the seal I was wearing had been made by him and I told him it was. 'I think,' he said, 'that the Marathas are the real rulers.'

Sunday, July 7.[3]—On the Governor's return from church, every one went and condoled with him on the death of Madame d'Espréménil, Madame Dupleix' daughter. I also paid my visit, and then went to the nut-godown. I stayed there till noon and then came home.

Imâm Sâhib, who is in Nâsîr Jang's camp at Aurangabad, has written, through his son Hasan 'Alî Khân at Arcot, to the Governor; the letter arrived at half-past three. The Governor sent for me, so I went at four o'clock. He grew angry because Madanânda Pandit was not there; and he

[1] The word used means indifferently a seal or a coining-stamp. The accession of a new emperor would not require a new seal for Dupleix, so I suppose a stamp for Arcot rupees is meant—the context suggests for use in Bengal. Both French and English coined on the Coast a considerable part of the silver they sent to Bengal, especially during the Maratha invasions, which led to the closing of the country mints, so that bar-silver or dollars were hard to dispose of.

[2] Apparently a slip for 'his.' Dupleix' name could not occur on rupees.

[3] *27th Âni, Vibhava.*

gave the letter to me, telling me to read it and interpret it to him as soon as he came back from his drive. So saying, he went out. Madanânda Pandit was expecting a present from ['Alî Naqî Sâhib?] who has taken leave and is going to Wandiwash ; so he had gone with the latter to my garden. A peon went and told him that the Governor wanted him, so he came, sending word to 'Alî Naqî Sâhib that he would see him to-morrow before he set out in the afternoon. Then he came to me and said, 'As Chandâ Sâhib's wife and daughters are staying in your garden, with 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, he asked me to visit him there, saying that he would give me a present. But he wished me to wait half an hour, as he was busied with the women. Then the Governor's people told me I was wanted, and so I came without waiting an instant.'

I then gave Madanânda Pandit Imâm Sâhib's letter and asked him to interpret it. It ran as follows:—

'You will have read and understood my former letters to you. His Highness Nizâm-ul-mulk died on the evening of Sunday, the 4th of Jamâdî-ul-âkhir[1], and his position, wealth and power have descended to Nâsîr Jang. It is said that he has two crores of rupees, chests of diamonds, jewels and precious stones, 64 elephants and 1,200 horses. This is why I have made you friends. Be pleased

[1] Cf. p. 53 *supra*, where the date is given as the 5th.

to write him a letter of congratulations, and send at once as a nazar money or whatever you think proper. Henceforth everything will fall out precisely to your wishes. I write this letter in haste, but I shall write in detail later.'

He wrote also a letter to me which I read with joy. It was as follows:—

'You must interpret properly my letter to the Governor regarding Nizâm-ul-mulk's death. As you desire, the jaghir will be given, and you will be praised on that account. In fifteen or twenty days I shall send a parwâna from Nâsîr Jang, and an order to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân on sight of which he is to surrender all the jaghir villages granted to you. You may depend upon this.'

Just then the Governor came back, but when I interpreted Imâm Sâhib's letter to him as written above, he remained silent. He seemed troubled in mind.

He sent for me afterwards at eight o'clock, and said, 'A European disguised as a Muhammadan is coming here in a dhooli by way of Gingee.[1] You said there were two roads to Gingee, so station twenty sepoys on each road, give them batta, and tell them to bring in the dhooli as soon as they meet it.' I said I would do so, and asked Shaikh Ibrâhîm to send forty sepoys out on the Gingee roads at sunrise. There is nothing more worth writing.

[1] This was Paradis, who was coming up from Kârikâl; he followed another route however. See below p. 114.

Monday, July 8.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he told me to write a reply to Imâm Sâhib's letter as follows: 'I have written a letter of congratulation to Nâsîr Jang as you desire. Since you understand all things, decide the amount which should be given as a nazar, and I will give it to your son here. I wrote to you to procure a grant of the two districts of Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr as a jaghir. You replied that you would speak about it to Nâsîr Jang and let me know the result. Nizâm-ul-mulk is dead, and Nâsîr Jang formerly promised to speak to his father and settle the matter; but now by God's grace Nâsîr Jang enjoys full authority to make the grant itself: ask him to do so without delay.' I promised to write the letter, and told Madanânda Pandit to write it so as to mention certain matters indirectly. When it has been written, I will write the details.[2]

I said to the Governor afterwards, 'We wrote that the Madras goods had been restored; but he says that he has not received them, and that he has written to Avây Sâhib. He also asks you to do the same. What reply is to be made?' He exclaimed angrily, 'You are always on the side of the Muhammadans and care nothing for the Company's profits.' I begged him to hear me patiently, and said, 'By your prudence the Company has gained five or six lakhs of pagodas, and without you what would not

[1] 28th *Âni, Vibhava.* [2] See p. 119 *infra.*

have happened at Madras when Mahfuz Khân came? The goods are only worth a couple of pagodas at the most, and he [1] is disappointed, because he has been at so much trouble about our affairs with Nâsîr Jang and Nizâm-ul-mulk. He should be satisfied, for he complains that though he looks upon the Carnatic and Pondichery as the same, his goods are still kept from him. It is but a trifle.' When I thus suggested that the matter ought to be settled, he said, 'Tell Avây Sâhib that, owing to disturbances in the country, the people of Arcot and others are removing their goods to the sea-ports, so that goods already there had better not be removed at present.' I said I would tell him. There is nothing more worth writing. I stayed in the nut-godown till noon and then came home.

Tuesday, July 9.[2]—[.] Afterwards the Governor sent for me. He told M. Friell the following details:—'M. de La Bourdonnais himself took a Dutch ship which lay in the roads, but sent his wife and goods on another ship to Portugal. His ship was driven by a storm into an English harbour, where the people finding out who he was, seized and sent him to the King at London, the capital. He is the meanest man in Europe. I myself have seen him selling wigs. I remember the condition in which he first arrived here—he had not even money to buy a coat with.

[1] I.e., Imâm Sâhib. [2] *29th Âni, Vibhava.*

By M. Lenoir's favour, he was sent to Mocha, and he managed to get a little money by roguery.[1] He never used to render correct accounts of his voyages. He was entrusted with turned-out goods [2] belonging to Sungurâman worth 50 or 60 thousand pagodas to be sold at Goa ora fair price. But he sold them for half their value and when he was asked why he had done so, he made frivolous excuses, saying they were poor in quality and that they had been wetted and torn on the voyage. He gave a little money to Râyavaram Nârâyana Chetti who was with him to say that the goods were poor and that Sungurâman was lucky to have got rid of them so well. That is how La Bourdonnais made his money.' The Governor was talking to M. Friell like this for nearly an hour. Then he said that M. de La Villebague was the same, that he was a rogue, that he never kept proper accounts, and that that was why the King had ordered his property to be seized and confiscated wherever it could be found. He then asked me whether I had not been a partner with

[1] La Bourdonnais joined the Company's marine service as Second Lieutenant in 1719. In 1724 or 1725 he abandoned the Company and entered the country trade, commanding vessels in which Lenoir was interested. Ship's officers engaged in the country trade had a well established reputation for taking care of their own interests; and while Dupleix' remarks are evidently inspired by prejudice, they are no improbable. Dupleix himself, it may be added, came out with a scanty stock of rayment (see *Cultru*, p. 110, n. 5). Ships' officers often brought wigs out on their 'privilege.'

[2] I.e., Cloth made for the Company's account but rejected in sorting.

M. de La Villebague in the Manilla trade. I said, 'I was not the only partner; there were also M. Guillard, M. Pilavoine, M. Robert, M. Le Beaume, Pedro, Sungurâman and M. Cornet, as well.'[1] He then asked what my share had been. I said, 4,065 pagodas. Thereupon he ordered me to go at once to M. Desmarêts and make a statement, and he wanted M. Guillard to be sent for.

M. Friell said, 'M. de La Villebague borrowed 14,000 dollars on the security of the goods at Manilla belonging to you jointly; he never mentioned it, but I have heard of it from Manilla.' The Governor said that he was a great rascal, and when he had talked about his bad character for an hour and a half, M. Guillard came. The Governor asked him, 'Are you not concerned in the goods which M. de La Villebague carried to Manilla? Go to the *Greffe* and make a declaration according to what you told me.' M. Guillard then called me and said, 'I shall tell Tânappa Mudali, Sungurâman and the others to come to the Fort to-morrow morning. We will discuss the matter and then go to M. Desmarêts at the *Greffe*, make and sign the declaration and then go home.'—'Very well,' I said, 'I will tell Kanakarâya Mudali's brother Lazar and Sungurâman.'

[1] The country trade was largely financed on a joint-stock basis, individuals subscribing each a certain sum, and the profits being divided and returned along with the stock at the end of the voyage. The system closely resembled that of the sixteenth century joint-stock enterprises. See Scott's *Joint-Stock Companies*, Vol. 1, pp. 73, etc.

The Governor then ordered me to write letters to Imâm Sâhib and Nâsîr Jang. I said I would do so and then went to the nut-godown; and about ten o'clock two Mahé Brâhmans brought letters from Mahé. They said that they had left twelve days ago.

They said, 'As there had been heavy rain, the sea was rough there and ships could not come close in, but remained out at sea. On the arrival of a sloop, a salute was fired, and letters were sent ashore by a boat. They despatched us at once with the letters, promising us a present of 60 rupees if we got here within twelve days. We have come accordingly.'

The Governor read the letters, wrote an answer immediately and despatched them at noon with ten peons to escort them as far as the Âttûr bounds. According to his orders I sent peons with the Brâhmans.

He sent for me at four o'clock this afternoon. Before I could get there, he had driven to the Madras gate. So I went there to speak with him. He said, 'People say that the sepoys at Ariyânkuppam are deserting because they have not received their batta. Why were they not given it?' I said, 'They are not on an expedition. I thought you might say that it was the same whether they were here or at Ariyânkuppam; and so I told them that I would only give them their batta after I had seen you.' He answered angrily, 'I have already told

you that they are to receive batta if they go a single step beyond the limits. Must I repeat my orders to you? Give it them at once and see that there are no such complaints in future. Go and pay them now.' I said I would do so, and sent for Shaikh Ibrâhîm at once and told him that I would get the money for the batta from Parasurâma Pillai to-morrow.[1] Nothing else happened this evening.

Wednesday, July 10.[2]—This morning I heard that M. Paradis had sailed in a masula boat from Kârikâl and landed near Porto Novo. Thence in disguise and accompanied by a cooly, he went on foot by way of Tiruvêndipuram, and reached the camp at Alisapâkkam last night. Peons from the Alisapâkkam camp have just brought news that M. Paradis is coming to see him [Dupleix ?].

As M. Guillard told us yesterday to meet him at the Fort about the declaration in connection with the Manilla voyage in which M. de La Villebague was concerned, I went to his house and spoke to him. But he told me to go to the Fort and said that he would come as soon as he had finished his business. Just then, I remembered that M. Duplan had sent for me, and so I went to his house. When I saw him, he said, 'On the goods we sent to Mascareigne, you have made 25 per cent, but I have made a loss.

[1] Batta (an additional payment when on active service or on duty at a distance from headquarters) was a frequent cause of dispute between troops in India and their masters.

[2] *30th Âni, Vibhava.*

According to the Company's orders, no declaration need be made. The goods were sent because the Company wrote there were none in store. They accepted them and gave in payment a bill on Europe. The bill has arrived, but there will be a loss on realizing it. To make good the loss, please give me a year in which to pay what I owe you. I will allow the usual rate of interest, and in time I shall be able to send another venture to Mascareigne and recoup my loss. M. David, the present Governor of Mascareigne, is an old school-fellow of mine. He has written to me that he will help me as much as he can, but that the goods already sent have been stored in the Company's godown and that he can do nothing about them, as he only received my letter after they had been delivered to the warehouse-keeper. He will be of the greatest help in future, and I expect to be able to make good my losses.[1] I stood surety for the money owed you by M. de La Gatinais; he has not sent me a single cash yet, but anyhow I must pay you.' I told him that I would decide when the women's cloths account had been

[1] This affair is dealt with in a letter from Duplan to Estoupan de Villeneuve, of April 8, 1747 (*P.R. No.* 19, p. 212). He there says that David brought out with him orders to take on the Company's account all private merchandise sent to the Islands, at 25 per cent more than the values shown in the invoices. As shippers never showed more than half the value of the goods (I suppose, because freight and customs were paid on the invoice rates), that meant a very considerable loss, to which had to be added freight to the Islands at 25 per cent and another 25 per cent as the normal rate of discount on the Company's bills by which the goods were paid for.

written out and when I had seen it. Afterwards we spoke about the shipping, M. Paradis' arrival and M. de La Bourdonnais. M. Duplan's wife was present during our conversation and made occasional remarks. Presently I took my leave and went to the Fort, where I found M. Pilavoine and M. Cornet. M. Guillard had gone home. We all produced M. de La Villebague's acknowledgments for our shares, and asked M. Pilavoine to take them to the *Greffe*, saying that, if he would get the declaration written, we would meet him there and sign it.

After this, I went to the Governor's and interpreted to him the letter of compliment from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. It ran : 'Nizâm-ul-mulk has died and Nâsîr Jang has succeeded him. I send you a copy of his congratulatory letter confirming me in the possession of the subah of Arcot. You will rejoice at the news as my welfare and yours are one. So I have written to you.'[1] The Governor thereon ordered me to write a suitable reply with his compliments. I have written out a draft to be copied and sent to-morrow.

M. Pilavoine [2] went to the *Greffe* and got the declaration written out by M Desmarêts. Then he

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[1] For a similar letter conveying the news to the English, see *Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 39.

[2] Maurice Pilavoine, an old servant of the Company, became Councillor, 1738 (*P.R. No.* 28, p. 489) ; in 1740 and 1741 the Pondichery Council was complaining of his obstinacy and perverseness, and he was later removed from his post as Accountant. In the Council's letter to the Company of October 25, 1748 (*P.R. No.* 7), it is said that he has been restored to his post, having repented of his errors.

sent for us. We went and signed it, and, when we were about to depart, M. Paradis, M. Friell and M. Auger arrived. I and Tânappa Mudali salaamed and paid our respects, which he [1] returned. He afterwards went to the Governor's to condole with Madame Dupleix on her daughter's death. When he had spoken with the Governor, he left and went to M. Auger's house where he is staying. The Governor went there to return his call, and then came back again.

He sent for me and said, 'As an experiment, M. Paradis disguised himself and came on foot by way of the Fort St. David bound-hedge, with a cooly. Those who praise him must be fools, for what if he had been caught? If he had been wise, he could not have been blamed in case of an accident; but if anything had happened by reason of his rashness, everyone would have blamed him, including the Company. He thought he was being very clever, but a man of sense will say nothing could have been stupider. Forty sepoys were sent out as we expected him by the Gingee road; recall them. Take care to collect as much grain as you can, and buy some raw rice [2] as well.'

I then reminded him that Avây Sâhib had written to ask that he might be dismissed as soon as possible, and that the marriage things for which he had come might be made ready. The Governor,

[1] Apparently, M. Paradis. [2] See Vol. IV, p. 299.

however, told me to find out exactly what was wanted. I said I would, and so came home.

After dark he sent for me and asked whether I had received any news from Arcot. I said, 'The only news is that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân still means to attack Arcot and make himself Nawâb, and so is collecting troops. All the people are therefore sending their property and goods to places of safety.' Then I came away. [.]

Thursday, July 11.[1]—A council was held at the Governor's house this morning at eight o'clock. When I went, I heard that it had appointed M. Guillard Keeper of the silver-godown and M. Paradis Commissary of the troops, employs formerly held by M. Legou, the Second. M. Friell has been appointed Councillor and Cash-keeper instead of M. Guillard. M. Cornet has been named Councillor *ad honores*. So he enjoys the honours and powers of the office. It has been decided that, when a vacancy occurs on the Council, he shall be appointed, and, meanwhile, he will be summoned to the Council whenever important matters are discussed. These are the rights of a Councillor *ad honores*, and now this rank has been given to M. Cornet. These resolutions were passed and signed, and then all went home.

M. Legou, the Second, is eighty years old, and, as he felt that he could not discharge his duties any

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[1] 31st Âni, Vibhava.

longer, he wrote both to Europe and to the Council; so his employs have been divided between M. Guillard and M. Paradis. If M. Paradis had been given all the powers belonging to the Second, he would have been more powerful than anyone else; for first, the Second is master of the troops at Pondichery and they must obey his commands; secondly, he is the master of the Company's trade; thirdly, he is the Chief Justice[1]; fourthly, he manages all money matters; fifthly, he is both the sea and the land-customer; and sixthly, the master-gunner cannot move guns or fire them without his permission. The Second enjoys all these powers, the Governor alone is greater than he. But though holding so great a post, M. Legou did not shine; he was powerless, like a eunuch embracing Rambha. If anyone else, however incompetent, had held the office, its lustre and authority would have been different. But a man can exercise authority only in proportion to his merit. After the Council had come to these resolutions, M. Guillard, M. Paradis and M. Cornet paid their respects to the Governor and then departed.

Letters were written and despatched to Nâsîr Jang and Imâm Sâhib this afternoon. To Nâsîr Jang was written a letter with the customary congratulations along with a second letter of condolence on the death of his father written in the Governor's

[1] I.e., in the Choultry Court.

own hand. Imâm Sâhib was desired, if he thought proper, to deliver first the letter of condolence and then the letter of congratulations, or to keep back the former and only deliver the latter. As for the nazar to accompany the letter, he was told that whatever amount he thought proper to give would be paid to his son. We also wrote as politely as possible that this was the best time to procure the countries of Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr which we already had asked for, and added that another letter would follow regarding other matters. This letter was written, sealed, put into a bag, and delivered to the messenger whom Imâm Sâhib had sent. A letter from Siddhî 'Abd-ul-ghafûr, Killedar of Joar Bandar,[1] to Imâm Sâhib was also sent along with mine to Nâsîr Jang and Imâm Sâhib requesting them to grant my prayer for a jaghir. As there is news from Vellore that a child has been born to Mîr Ghulâm Husain's adopted son (I do not know his name), I sent word that a nazar of five pagodas should be given him with my congratulations.

Friday, July 12.[2]—I and Tânappa Mudali went to M. Paradis this morning. I had fourteen mohurs, of which Tânappa Mudali begged the loan of five. I gave him them, and, each taking five, we offered them as a nazar to M. Paradis with our respects. He responded suitably and asked us to be seated. As we sat down, two or three Europeans

[1] I.e., Âlambarai.

[2] 1st Âdi, *Vibhava*.

came. He told us that he wanted to speak with us, but that he had no leisure then, as he had to go to the Governor. So we departed, saying that we would visit him again at four o'clock. These mohurs that we gave as nazars are but as interest on the money he unjustly took from us at Kârikâl. He is a villain and we can expect nothing from him.[1]

We then went to the Governor's house where all the Councillors had met. When it was over, and all had gone home, the Governor went with Madame to Madame d'Auteuil's house. I then went to the nut-godown.

M. Cornet did not attend the Council to-day, but M. Friell was there. I have not heard what passed.

M. Cornet sent for me this afternoon, and said, 'I told you that I wanted a man; now the Governor permits me to appoint anybody I choose. Have you any one ready for me?' I said that I had, and that I would write a letter and let him know.

He then mentioned the appointments made at yesterday's Council. He said, 'M. Friell and M. Boyelleau have been made supernumerary Councillors and placed above me. I have only been appointed Councillor *ad honores* and placed below them. They are going to summon a full meeting to announce my appointment as Councillor. So I have petitioned the Governor as follows:—" M.

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[1] See p. 132 *infra.*

[Boyelleau ?] who is junior to me and was till now only a *premier commis* and *sous-marchand*,[1] has now been made a Councillor. I have long been in the Company's service, and no one understands their business better than I. That being so, it is unjust to put my juniors over my head. I will continue as *sous-marchand* until you are pleased to grant me your favour, unless you are kind enough to put me above them." I only wrote this petition a little while ago and am about to send it. Even people, who came out after me, have been appointed supernumerary Councillors in Bengal. We shall see what the Governor will do. I do not know whether he will get angry at my presenting such a petition and suspend me for disputing his orders, or whether he will direct it to be referred to the Company.[2] I do not know what he will do, but we shall see.' So saying, M. Cornet told Mannâru Nâyakkan to take his petition to the Governor and then come back. He added, 'Supernumerary members may, without any objection, attend whenever any one is absent, and members *ad honores* are entitled to all the honours shown to Councillors. When any important matter comes before the council, I shall be summoned. But otherwise, I shall not.' I

[1] The lowest rank in the Company's service was that of *commis* divided into different grades of pay. I suppose Cornet means that Boyelleau held rank as *sous-marchand* with pay as *premier commis*

[2] In 1750 Cornet was still only a *Conseiller ad honores*, and Dupleix reported that he was not fit for higher rank. *Archives des Colonies*, C[2] 15.

listened to all he said, and went to the nut-godown saying that I would see him again to-morrow.

As I was writing my diary at the nut-godown, some Mahé Brâhmans arrived with letters for the Governor. They told me they had heard from the Chief at Mahé that the ships lying out at sea were royal ships of force from Europe, with a great man on board and many soldiers, and that the ships would reach Pondichery within twelve days, before the runners could get there. They said the ships were exceedingly powerful, and added that the Governor had written an order for the gates to be opened on their telling him that the gates would be closed. They departed saying that the Governor was greatly pleased. As it was then nine o'clock, I went to the nut-godown.[1]

Saturday, July 13.[2]—A full meeting was summoned this morning to announce the appointments of the Commissary, Councillors and *sous-marchands* made yesterday; M. Paradis as Commissary of the troops, M. Friell, M. Boyelleau and M. Cornet, Councillors, M. Delarche, M. La Touche, M. De Grandmaison[3] and another (I do not know his name) as *sous-marchands*; and others as accountants and *commis*, according to the orders passed yesterday. All these appointments were read and announced.

[1] *Quere*; home. [2] *2nd Âdi, Vibhava.*

[3] He distinguished himself in the siege of Pondichery, when he served as an Ensign of Artillery. *Nazelle*, p. 341 and *Collection Historique*, p. 296.

I will find out what the Governor has done about M. Cornet's petition that was presented yesterday and write it another day.

I reported the contents of the letter written by Mahfuz Khân to acknowledge the letter of congratulation and the nazar sent him on his receiving the title of Nawâb. He writes that he has received the nazar and requests me to pay his compliments to the Governor.

Mahfuz Khân always used to address me as 'Agent of trade' just as he addresses the merchants; but instead of this, he now addresses me as 'Ânanda Rangappan, supreme in strength and valour.' Madanânda Pandit said that the Governor should be informed of this new form of address. Accordingly I did so. The Governor smiled and said, 'Mahfuz Khân is right to call you "Ânanda Rangappan, the pre-eminent in strength and valour," for you carry out the orders given by me who enjoy all success.' Just then, M. Paradis, M. Le Maire, M. Cayrefourg, M. Robert and other Europeans came. The Governor told them of this and said that Mahfuz Khân should have addressed me thus long ago, instead of waiting till now to abandon my former title, because I had proved my valour and strength by my conduct. So they laughed together.

The Governor then took me aside and said, 'Before the men-of-war arrive, a sloop will come in with the news from Europe. I am sure the despatches will arrive before the men-of-war. You

will see it for yourself. When the men-of-war left Europe, many English, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch merchants and farmers were ruined, and confusion reigned all over Europe.' To this, I replied, 'Two or three years ago I told you about the prophecy made by a European, that the troubles would come to an end in 1748 and that peace would be restored. By God's grace, it will surely come to pass here also.' He said, 'Surely it will. God will protect us.'

A hundred soldiers and a hundred sepoys were sent this morning to meet the detachment that went to fetch the silver. There is nothing more worth writing.

Sunday, July 14.[1]—I went this morning to speak to Wazû'-ud-dîn Khân, formerly Killedar of Gingee, who arrived here the evening of the day before yesterday. He was dressed like a Faqîr—it was pitiable to see him. He was the eldest son of his father's first wife and returned from the country when his father died. His father sent him thither fearing that he would trouble him for a share of his wealth if he were allowed to remain here. [The son, on his return, succeeded to] 60,000 pagodas in ready money as well as jewels set with diamonds, grain, women's laced cloths, horses, palankins, camels and all that befitted his rank. Moreover he was the Killedar of Gingee, and son of Nawâb

[1] *3rd Âdi, Vibhava.*

S'aadat-ul-lah Khân's sister-in-law, Khân Bahâdûr's aunt. But all this availed him nothing, for God did not favour him, and destined him to become a Faqîr. Who can resist his fate? He could hardly give me pân supârî. Accepting it, I took leave and then went to the Governor's.

Râjô Pandit sent me the letter written by 'Alî Naqî Sâhib to Chandâ Sâhib's house. I took it to the Governor and interpreted it as follows:—'It is said that Chandâ Sâhib after halting the other side of the Kistna has crossed with 70,000 horse. Murtazâ 'Alî Khân has made proposals to Chandâ Sâhib and is resolved to execute them. They are:—That Chandâ Sâhib should receive Trichinopoly, his son, 'Abid Sâhib, Gingee Fort and the country as it was before it was attached to the Carnatic, with the titles of Nawâb and Faujdar, and Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, Vellore. But Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Chandâ Sâhib's elder brother, wishes to seize the Fort of Arni and the Conjeeveram Country, demolish the Vishnu and Siva temples there and build mosques thereon.' Their plans are like a pot made of parched flour.[1] But I do not know what God designs.

I told this news to the Governor thinking that I had best not conceal it from him. He said, 'As they are assigning to each his share, why have they given none to me? Have I been helping Chandâ

[1] I.e. Useless.

Sâhib's people for nothing? Have they not demanded a share for me too? Have not Chandâ Sâhib's wife and sons written about it?' He was as excited and angry as though everything had been settled and he was to get nothing. I cannot describe his annoyance, and indeed I do not understand it. But, perceiving his thoughts, I spoke accordingly, lest otherwise I should inflame his anger :—'These are not Chandâ Sâhib's proposals,' I said, 'but only what Murtazâ 'Alî Khân wishes—that is all. When Chandâ Sâhib divides the spoil and gives his portion to each, he will certainly give you a share—his son has told me so.' Though I spoke reassuringly, he still doubted and asked whether Chandâ Sâhib would not fall in with Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's proposals. I replied, 'First of all, why should Chandâ Sâhib consent? He is marching with 70,000 horse to conquer the whole country of Arcot and Trichinopoly. Will he permit Murtazâ 'Alî Khân to become Nawâb and content himself with Trichinopoly? When he is meaning to win the Nawâbship for himself, and is marching at the head of a large army to take advantage of the deaths of the Moghul and Nizâm-ul-mulk, will he suffer another to seize the country? Murtazâ 'Alî Khân may have made proposals, but when Chandâ Sâhib arrives, he will show what he thinks and tell him to content himself with his fort. He will first give you your share and only then attend to his own business.' When I spoke thus in soothing terms, he said,

'That is true. It does not matter whether he helps Chandâ Sâhib or not. We shall help him. Besides, does he need anyone's help? They will scatter at the mere sight of the 70,000 horse. He needs no one's help; but remind Chandâ Sâhib's son that he must remember my share, and arrange for me to receive it.'

Then, as M. Paradis had just arrived, I came away. When they were still talking together, I and the Nayinâr went and reported that, when a certain spy was visiting a relation, an oil-seller of Tiruppâppuliyûr, one of his enemies had induced head-peon Muttu, with promises of money, to seize and imprison him; that Muttu had reported in due course to Madame that the man was a spy; and so he had been chained, legs and neck, and made to carry earth; and that he had died to-day. The Governor at once ordered the body to be burnt. After ordering the Nayinâr to have this done, I went to the nut-godown.

There I wrote to Arunâchala Chetti, Muttayya Chetti, and other Company's merchants who had gone to Lâlâpêttai, telling them not to sell the Company's broad-cloth lying in the fort, but to send it back and only to sell the copper. I wrote this letter and gave it to some merchants, desiring them to have the goods sent down soon. Then at noon I came home.

The following is a letter that was written by Sînappayyan at Kârikâl to his elder brother Râma-

chandra Ayyan on Thursday, *Suthâshtami*[1] in the month of Âdi last:—

'Before the feet of the most pure, the honourable Râmachandra Ayyan, I, Srînivâsan, prostrate myself in the past, present and the future with love and petitions.[2] Up to this day, Thursday, *Suthâshtami*, in the month of Âdi, my health has been good. Be pleased to write to me of your welfare and prosperity. In your letter to Subba Nâyakkan about our business, you wrote that you could not repeat in a letter what Mahârâja Râja Srî Ranga Pillai said when you told him of it, and you said that this money must be collected from Tiruvêngadam and no one else. So you wrote in detail. I was much astonished at it. Has the Honourable Pillai written that we were at fault in these matters? Can he say so, when we are giving our whole attention to his affairs, and neglecting our own? If we were to send him our accounts, could we not make them great? He knows all this. You have been writing that you have attended to all his affairs as he desired. I too have been acting in obedience to your orders. But all will blame me in order to serve their own purposes. This is true; but how can I help it? Now Tiruvêngadam and Kandappan are working together. In all these matters Kandappan has secretly helped him, and was present when

[1] The 8th day after the new moon.

[2] The form of salutation appropriate to addressing one older than the writer.

Tiruvêngadam was writing the accounts in M. Paradis' presence the day before they were signed. What business had he to be there? Tiruvêngadam told M. Paradis that he did not know what deductions the Company allowed Pillai Avargal. How can he say such a thing? I do not know whether you have told him about all this; but I think that Tiruvêngadam has secretly told M. Paradis. This evening I sent for Tiruvêngadam and told him that, when all the accounts were under his management, Pillai Avargal examined them and found them correct; I asked him what business he had to tell the Governor, at the time of that suit, that he had written about them to Pillai Avargal; and I told him he ought not to have done so. When I told him all this, he replied that these things had been included in the accounts, that he could prove this to his master if necessary, but that he would be blamed if he told anybody else. He told M. Paradis that he had written to Pillai Avargal, but we have heard nothing of it till now. Ask Pillai Avargal to write to M. Paradis or to tell the Honourable Governor that you have not received a single cash of what is owing you, that it is due from him, and should be paid by him only; if the letter is written as politely as possible, and sent to me, I will go with Sêshayyangâr and explain everything to M. Paradis. I will write later to you about the news. Tell this to Pillai Avargal.'

The contents of the letter written on Friday morning, *Navami*,[1] are as follows :—

'M. Paradis sent for all of us, so we three set out; but as we passed the Second's house, he called me in, so Prakâsa Mudali[2] and Tiruvêngadam went together to M. Paradis. I hear that M. Paradis grew very angry with Tiruvêngadam and ordered Prakâsa Mudali to keep him in custody, saying that he had not paid what he owed according to the accounts which had been settled. Tiruvêngadam replied that he had no money, that he was not the renter, that Kandappan had the lease and the money and everything, that it would be no use imprisoning him, but that Kandappan had had the grain and the money it sold for. Thus he urged that the money due should be collected from him. On this, Prakâsa Mudali was ordered to imprison Kandappan and to tell him that he must either pay the money to-day, or [ ].

'This afternoon the sound of many guns was heard from Cuddalore. A sergeant[3] under 'Abd-ul-rahmân has a brother-in-law who is in service at Cuddalore. Madame Dupleix heard that he had been sending intelligence to Cuddalore, and informed the Governor; so head-peon Sântappan was sent with twelve peons this afternoon to the camp for

[1] The 9th day after the new or the full moon.
[2] The chief dubâsh at Kârikâl. He was a Christian.
[3] *Sic* in original.

him. When they brought the sergeant and a woman living under his protection, M. Paradis, M. Duquesne and M. Dargy were called together, and at about seven o'clock they sent for 'Abd-ul-rahmân. We shall learn all to-morrow.

'At eleven o'clock to-night there was heavy rain —about an inch and a half. There is nothing more worth writing.'

Tuesday, July 16.[1]—M. Paradis sent for me this morning and said, 'By those false accounts of yours relating to Kârikâl and your villages, I and the Company were cheated by you of 1,760 pagodas, and by Kanakarâya Mudali of 1,700 and odd pagodas; the latter made good the amount; how can you refuse to do the same?' I said, 'If you wish, you can at once repay yourself out of the money lying in my chests, but you cannot truthfully say that I took anything.' He replied, 'Your people, Sêshayyangâr, Kandappa Pillai and Tiruvêngadam have confessed and signed a statement.'—'They only did what those in authority told them to,' I rejoined; 'the facts of the case may be discovered by proper enquiries.' At this he fell into a passion, stamping and shaking his fist, as though he thought he could make me answer as he desired by threats. But I responded, 'Do you expect to terrify me by your anger? I should answer you with fear indeed, if I had received a single cash, but I am entirely guiltless.

[1] *5th Âdi, Vibhava.*

This is the account which he wrote out and gave me. He was questioned in the presence of the Company's merchants, many other people, the arbitrators and the Second. I know nothing but what the Company's merchants in the presence of Tânappa Mudali wrote about the fraud to the Company. He declared to my people before the arbitrators that I was the Company's man, that that year the farm had been directly managed instead of being let out, and that the accounts had been rendered to the Company; and so asked what business we had to interfere. He said we could have interfered if it had been farmed out, but could not otherwise. The arbitrators agreed that this was just, and there are twenty-four of them here still. Tânappa Mudali is also here and the matter may be enquired into. If I had taken a cash on each fanam, I should be answerable; but as I had no concern in it, I need not fear.'—'But the agreement is in your name,' he said, 'not his. So what is there to question him about? Unless you give an answer within twenty-four hours, I shall report the matter to M. Dupleix, and petition the Council to be allowed to recover twice the amount of which you have cheated the Company.'—'Sir,' I answered, 'will the Council do justice or injustice? I can justify myself and will pay whatever they order.' He said, 'Kanakarâya Mudali's renters requested me to conceal this, and I gave them my word. They might complain if I made it public.' I asked him

then what I could do, and he answered, 'I will not mention this money to M. Dupleix. There is no need to tell him as the money has already been spent on the ramparts.' He added with some impatience, 'Rangappa, you are a man of consideration, you know the whole matter, and how your agents have behaved. I will give you three days in which to enquire into the matter. Kindly do so. For the last four or five years, they have been taking 25 per cent on these 1,700 pagodas. People say that you have taken the whole surplus of the villages, but that you have never paid it in. Sêshayyangâr says so too. He does indeed.' He threatened me, just as he threatened my people at Kârikâl, as though I had received the money from them. But I was not afraid of him, and made suitable replies. Then he asked if I had not read the letter which he had written me about it. I answered that I had not, adding, 'I have however received a letter from Kârikâl, and Râmachandra Ayyan told me you had mentioned it to him since your arrival. I will enquire and inform you.'—'You are lying,' he said.—'Why should I tell you lies?'', I replied; 'There is no guilt in receiving a letter. Surely you do not think otherwise. If I had received any of the money, I should fear you; but otherwise, why should I?'—'Anyhow,' he said, 'if the accounts show you to have cheated, you will be answerable for it, since your name appears in the agreement.' I gathered that he wanted me to settle the business

somehow, and accordingly answered, 'Very well, but Sêshayyangâr and Tiruvêngadam must come to help me to examine the accounts.' Then he wrote a petition requesting that the former decision might be affirmed. I hear that he[1] read it, put it into his pocket, and went home. I have heard no other news.

Wednesday, July 17.[2]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked why so little grain was coming into the bazaar. I explained that the supply of paddy always decreased from the month of Âdi[3] and that prices always rose. He answered that prices were not likely to rise owing to the rains. But I said, 'Even though there is much rain, prices always rise in the month of Âdi and fall in the month of Purattâsi,[4] as soon as the kambu has been sown and begun to grow.' After talking about these and other matters, I went to the godown and thence came home. There is nothing else to write about.

This afternoon I went near Kottakuppam and examined the place where the Nayinâr was cutting down palmyra trees, and then in the evening went to the nut-godown. I came home at nine o'clock.

I hear that His Highness Nawâb Mahfuz Khân, enraged at the capture of Old Gingee by Pandâri of Vêttavalam, has hoisted his flag, and that, when it was blown down by a storm, it was hoisted again.

[1] I suppose, Dupleix.
[2] *6th Âdi, Vibhava.*
[3] July-August.
[4] September-October.

I also hear that Nâsîr Jang intends to march to Golconda, leaving his own troops as well as his father's at Aurangabad, and that he has posted his people at the various stages. It is also said that he has raised 10,000 more horse.

I have also received a letter from Arcot as follows:—

'Ahmad Shâh Bahâdûr Pâdshâh Ghâzi, who recently ascended the throne, means to advance against Golconda. He also means to visit the masjid at Aurangabad where the body of Aurangzîb Pâdshâh lies buried, and to carry off the countless riches amassed by Nizâm-ul-mulk.'

Moreover a ship has brought news to Cuddalore from Europe that twenty-four ships—ten men-of-war and fourteen Company's ships are on their way.[1] Matters continue in their former situation at Cuddalore. I hear nothing else.

At seven o'clock this morning, I heard that Tambi Nayinâr's widow had presented a petition to the Governor as follows:—

'Karuttambi Nayinâr and Muttayya Pillai for some time paid my allowance according to the Council's decision; but they now tell me that they gave 4,000 pagodas for the appointment, and that they can only continue my allowance if I will pay 2,000 pagodas as my share. I beg you will be pleased to order them to pay me as before.'

[1] On July 4/15 the *Wager* arrived from England. She left England October 24, 1747; the *Duke of Dorset*, which sailed on October 9, arrived June 22/July 3, with despatches.

I hear that the Governor read it, put it into his pocket and went home. I have heard no other news.

Thursday, July 18.[1]—At half-past six this morning, Madanânda Pandit brought a dress of honour, a turban of cloth-of-silver, gold bracelets and a gold necklace weighing fifty pagodas, which Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah had sent my child from Wandiwash.

I then went to see M. de La Touche and talked with him about what Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan had said; and what had been said to M. Cornet. I then went to M. Delarche's house. In the course of the conversation, he said, 'The Governor has ordered a Bunder goldsmith, employed in the mint, to engrave the Company's arms and so it is being done.[2] I think it is for you.' I said that I should have heard of it if that had been intended for me; but he replied, 'Perhaps the Governor is doing this without telling you.[3] I will find out and let you know. If you can give me a week, I will send for them and the accounts, get to the bottom of the matter, and let you know.'—'Please tell M. Le Riche to send the Ayyangâr,' I said, 'and I will write as well.' He said that that would be rather troublesome, as he had given a promise to Kanakarâya Mudali's people. 'In that case,' I said, 'send only for the Ayyangâr. Tiruvêngadam need not come.' I then

[1] 7th Âdi, Vibhava. [2] See below, p. 142.

[3] The conversation suddenly branches to the Kârikâl business. I suppose there is some omission here.

took my leave. A short time before I left, M. Cayrefourg came in. M. Delarche thought that, if he suddenly dropped the conversation, it would look suspicious, and so continued, 'You have been sending money every month for the Tîravêr work.[1] It is required, and must not be stopped. Nearly a thousand pagodas are needed every month. What can be done if no money is given?' When he spoke thus indirectly, I understood him to wish me to say no more and so remained silent.

I think, from his being averse to saying publicly what he means, that he intends to play me false. But if I have to pay anything at all, shall I pay it without bringing it before the Council? There is still God.

I then went to the Governor's. He was talking with the Second on the northern verandah of the centre hall. On seeing me, he asked whether the townspeople were glad at the arrival of the silver. I replied that they were not only glad but astonished. He asked why. I replied, 'It is only natural to expect silver by the shipping, but they are surprised when they see silver without any shipping. They have never seen such a thing happen, and they say that such wonders are due to your good luck. People are standing in crowds from the *Gouvernement* to my choultry to watch the sight. You would not believe me, if I were to describe their

[1] The reference has not been traced.

joy; you may send some one or you may drive out and see it for yourself.' He smiled at this, and, turning to the Second, said, 'Ranga Pillai is only telling the truth. The ships arrived on Saturday and the same night, having landed the chests of silver and other goods, they departed, leaving behind a ship and a Dutch sloop which they had captured. Only a few at Madras saw them, and, if the people there were surprised, we need not wonder at the astonishment of the people here.' M. Legou, the Second, agreed and they joked about it.

The Governor sent at once for the head-peon and said, 'Tell M. d'Auteuil who has entered the bounds with his detachment to escort the coolies with the silver chests carefully, and instead of going that way to the Fort to come along this street.' So they entered by the Madras gate about ten o'clock, and passing down Kanakarâya Mudali's street. by my toddy-godown and by the Governor's house, reached the Fort, marching by M. Desjardins' house. First came the European troopers with drawn swords; then Europeans in order; then the silver chests on bullocks; then Mahé sepoys; then Europeans in order; then on one side Muhammadan horse and Coffrees on the other; and lastly sepoys. One's two eyes were not enough to take in the sight of all these armed troops, who looked so dreadful that their mere appearance would terrify an enemy or make pregnant women miscarry. All ascribe this joyful sight to the good fortune of M. Dupleix, and

say that the town's ill-luck ended yesterday, and that from to-day prosperity will attend it and all its inhabitants great and small. The Governor came out, eager to watch the troops march by. As they passed, they saluted him and Madame, who returned it gazing at them with faces of joy. The Governor only went in when they had turned into M. Desjardins' street.

There were 155 bullock-loads of silver and 3 of gold, and of the 400 soldiers who were landed at Madras from Europe, 300 came hither. A squadron of fifteen ships left Europe under the command of M. Saint-Georges. Some ships were captured by the English and the others reached Mascareigne one by one. Except what was taken for expenses there, the silver was put on board eight ships fitted for war,[1] and able to resist fifteen or twenty of the English ships. It was thought that the English ships would be lying off Fort St. David as it was near Pondichery, and so the silver was landed at Madras instead, and the ships were then to sail hither. That is why it was landed at Madras. The silver is reckoned at 13½ lakhs of rupees, but

[1] Saint-Georges sailed in the spring of 1747 with three men-of-war, eleven Company's ships and two sloops. All but three were wrecked or captured by the English. The *Lys*, *Aimable* and *Fulry* escaped under Bouvet and reached the Isles in October. In May 1748 Bouvet sailed for the Coromandel Coast with the *Lys*, the *Apollon* and the *Anglesea* (privateers), the *Mars*, *Brillant* and the *Centaur* (Company's ships of Dordelin's squadron) and the sloop *Cybèle*. The eighth vessel would seem to have been the Dutch prize mentioned above, p. 64. See Lacour-Gayet, *La Marine Militaire sous Louis XV*, p. 216.

the amount of the gold is not known. It is however said to be 20 lakhs of rupees. I shall find out and write its real amount later. I have written the amount of the silver as I know its weight and price; a portion has been detained for expenses at Madras, and only the surplus has been sent here. When it arrived, I was in the nut-godown street to watch the procession with M. Desmarêts, M. Coquet, some priests from the shipping, and one or two officers.

At seven o'clock to-night, I received letters from Kandappan and Tiruvêngadam at Kârikâl. Kandappan writes that Sêshayyangâr and Wandiwash Tiruvêngadam Pillai have been imprisoned since the 1st of this month. I know not how God will punish M. Paradis for his injustice.

At eight o'clock the Governor sent for me and said, 'The coolies are not coming in properly to work. The tank-diggers work one day and then get drunk for two; and you have not ordered the palmyra trees in the Nayinâr's tope near the walls to be cut down.' I replied, 'I only received orders yesterday. I sent word to M. Gerbault this evening to cut them down.[1] To-morrow I will order three or four hundred palmyra trees, even if they are in bearing, to be cut down. I shall also send for the tank-diggers and tell them not to make excuses but to work regularly. Coolies are now coming in by fifties and hundreds, and I will tell the Nayinâr

[1] Reading *vetti* for *velli*.

to-morrow to get a large number.' The Governor then said, 'We have not enough bullocks for the loads; buy those that have come from Madras.' I told him that they would die owing to the change of soil; but he persisted that I was to get a hundred bullocks more to draw water. I said, 'I have already advanced 100 pagodas for fifty bullocks. Do you want a hundred bullocks more?' He said he did, that I could get them in ten minutes if I chose, but that I was not attending to my business. So saying, he went in. I then went to the nut-godown, sent for the people engaged in the various works, and gave them their orders.

There was about two inches of rain, and at half-past nine when it had abated a little, I came home.

[1] [

] I replied, 'I could believe it if the Company's arms were ever engraved on the dubâsh's staff; as it is, I cannot.' I think this arises from my ordering for Yânâm Venkatapati Nâyakkan, on account of his duties at the Beach, a silver staff-handle like that used by the headman of the boat-people. People have heard that the Company's arms are being engraved on a staff-handle, and supposed that it is a staff-handle such as is usually given to the Chief Dubâsh. Considering

[1] At this point the diary repeats about thirty lines of manuscript from the first part of the diary of this day. These have been omitted. Apparently Ranga Pillai wrote out afresh his interview with Delarche with variations. Cf. the passage at p. 137 *supra*.

this, I asked M. Delarche if any orders had been received from Europe. He said that they had. I said, 'Pedro died nearly thirty months ago, and since then I have been doing his work. The Governor has never told me that he would give me the post, nor have I asked him to. That is how matters stand. Europeans, including yourself, told me that the Council had written to Europe; the Councillors generally give me the title; and I have heard that the Governor speaks of me to Europeans as the dubâsh.' M. Delarche replied, 'In their letter to the Company, they have said that they can find no one in these parts so capable as you and that, if by God's providence you are allowed to retain the post, the Company's affairs will be well managed. They only wrote that they prayed God it might be so, but not that you had been appointed. It was I that wrote the letter to Europe[1] and since then we have written to the Company to explain that you should be confirmed in the post. As I wrote both these letters, and as I hear that the Governor has ordered a staff-handle to be made at the mint, I conclude that it is for you.'

Then he said that he had a favour to ask. I asked him what it was. He said that he would tell me only if I would promise to grant it. I told him that I would honestly do so if it lay in my power, and begged him to speak plainly. He then asked

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 228 *ante*

me to get him from Kumarappan two cawnies of land in the out-villages. I said that I had already given him my promise, and added that I would talk to Kumarappan about it and do my best in the matter. After talking with him about other matters, I took leave of him and went to the Governor's.

He told me to send for Karuttambi Nayinâr in connection with the petition of Tambi Nayinâr's widow. He came and salaamed. Taking the petition, the Governor asked Karuttambi Nayinâr whether it was true that he had been ordered to pay Tambi Nayinâr's widow four pagodas when the appointment was transferred to him. He admitted it. The Governor then said, 'Did Muttayya Pillai who succeeded you in that post pay it, and did you pay it when you succeeded him again?' He replied that he had paid it. When the Governor asked why he had ceased doing so, he replied, 'She has sold her house and garden; besides she has a village. Has she nothing to live upon?' Thereupon the Governor said, 'What has that to do with you? The Council decided that she should be paid four pagodas so that the appointment might be given to another family. But when she demanded it accordingly, you said that you had spent 4,000 pagodas on getting the appointment, that you could not pay her every month, but that, if she paid 2,000 pagodas as her share, she could enjoy half the income. Did you really spend 4,000 pagodas? Whom did you

pay it to? Tell me.' But Karuttambi Nayinâr replied that he would never have dared to say so, and that she had been urged to submit a petition quoting words which he had never uttered, in order that he might be ruined. The Governor then ordered the woman to be sent for, saying, 'A petition cannot be written by a European without everything being explained to him; and how can any one have been fool enough to write whatever a woman liked to say?'—'True, Sir,' I said, 'it was foolish. Many fools must have united to perform this business. Only because they were all fools has such a thing been said and written. Had there been a single wise man among them, he would have prevented it.' The Governor said, 'True,' and went to lie down, before the peon who had gone to fetch Tambi Nayinâr's widow could return. The table was ready laid when he got up, and all the Europeans had been given water for their hands, and, just as water was brought to the Governor also, the parties were brought in. He told them to wait till after dinner; but I told him that the matter was not important enough for enquiry, and that it would be best to warn them against saying such things in future and to direct that what was due should be paid. He told me to ask her what had been said to her, but she only repeated what she had already said in her petition. He angrily ordered her to be paid her four pagodas a month and then went in to dinner. I repeated this to Karuttambi

Nayinâr and sent them both away. Then I came home. I have heard nothing worth writing this afternoon. Everything was as usual.

Friday, July 19.[1]—This morning the Governor dressed in black went to church to hear mass. An officer, having caught a soldier deserting to Cuddalore, brought him to the Governor. It was resolved at a Council[2] that he should be hanged. The meeting dispersed at half-past nine, when the Governor left the Council-house and went home.

Vîrâ Nâyakkan told me the following story about the crime that this European had committed.—He had about 100 pagodas. Moreover he had a European friend who looked after the horse-keepers, and who had 150 or 200 pagodas. When the latter went with the detachment to Madras to fetch the chests, he left the key of his box with his friend. But this man lost all that he had at play, and, as he had the keys of his friend's box, he took his pagodas, gold buttons, buckles, etc., and lost them too in gambling. Not knowing what he could say, when his friend asked for the key on returning from Madras, he resolved to desert to Cuddalore. When he was west of Alisapâkkam, some sepoys saw him, and, on their attempting to apprehend

[1] *8th Âdi, Vibhava.*

[2] The Pondichery Council exercised both executive and judicial functions. In the first capacity it was styled the *Conseil Supérieur* (having inferior councils depending on it); in the second it was called the *Conseil Souverain*, as it possessed the fullest powers under the Royal decree of 1701.

him, he fired his pistol at them, without hitting any one. They then seized and brought him in. He was guilty of death, first for desertion, and secondly for firing at those who went to seize him; for these two crimes he was ordered to be hanged. They say he is about twenty-one. The gallows was ordered to be set up this evening at the usual place of execution, south of the Fort, opposite to the Capuchins' church, and north of M. Godivier's house. He was told to go to the church to make his confession, given whatever he asked for, and conducted to the church in the Fort.

When I went to the Governor's, he was busy. But when he came into the centre hall, I went and salaamed.

I hear the following news from Arcot:—Murtazâ 'Alî Khân has advanced to Virinjipuram with 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot. The people of Arcot, hearing this, are leaving the place in great alarm. As a Maratha incursion is near at hand, Muhammad 'Alî, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son, who went from the fort of Trichinopoly and has been in Tinnevelly, is ordered to return to Trichinopoly forthwith, lay up a large store of provisions in the fort, garrison and provision the fort of Madura, raise 500 or 1,000 more horse and keep on the alert. After I had reported these and other matters, the Governor said, 'When we demanded money of 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, he first gave but afterwards broke his promise, because some one hindered

him. But you have never told me who it was that did so.' I replied, 'How can I accuse anyone without cause? I cannot accuse a man without good ground for it. I have accused none, because all my enquiries have been fruitless. When I report anything, I must see that it is true; and before I accuse any, I must have solid reasons. Nothing would be worse than if I were to make a statement which, when I was required to prove it, I should have to admit to be wrong. You would think that I had told you a lie. That is why I have already told you that I do not know who he is.' He answered, 'I know all about that. It is not because you do not know who upset the business, but because you will not tell me lest he should get into trouble. I could swear to it. What! have I only just learnt to know your character and behaviour? Don't I know you well enough? The moment you see a man going by, you know what he is thinking about. Whatever you foretell surely comes to pass. You can not only stir up rivalry among enemies and make them hate each other, but even rouse jealousy between friends and make them leave their homes. If you cannot, how do you manage to get news from trustworthy men at Arcot, Delhi, Aurangabad and elsewhere? How can I believe you when you say that you do not know who upset a business which you had undertaken? You might as well tell me that the sun had not risen. I could only believe you if I were not

standing here or the sun had not risen. But you have hidden the whole matter from me. What sin is there in punishing him? Why should you take pity on such a man? He must be punished, so that people may fear to do the like in future. Shall I refuse to inflict a light punishment if you ask me to? If you hide things like this, what sort o fnews shall I get?' When he scolded me thus, I tried in vain to convince him that I was hiding nothing out of friendship, and that I would never conceal anything I knew. But he said, 'You used to help me make money, but you have now entirely ceased to do so. I suppose there is something which has made you change. If you go on like this, I cannot expect to make a cash.' When he thus blamed me, I only half succeeded in conciliating him by suitable answers.

He then asked if Karuttambi Nayinâr did not deserve punishment for saying that he had paid 4,000 pagodas. I replied, 'He is a fool; he has no more sense than a beast; but he is very close-fisted. Inasmuch as you have confirmed him in his post, he can scarcely be punished or dismissed. But he must be told to behave properly.' The Governor said, 'He has only paid 1,600 rupees, so collect at once the remaining 400 rupees. My business will go on all right if you will only devote a little of your time to it.' I replied, 'Sir, what other business have I but that?' Then I went to the nut-godown.

The European deserter, who was sentenced this morning, was hanged at five o'clock this evening. They say that, as a mark of disgrace, he was struck in the back with the butt-end of a musket [before] he climbed the gallows, and then pinioned and hanged. He was thus put to shame for having deserted, as a warning to his fellow-soldiers.

I hear the following conversation took place between Mr. Floyer, the Governor, and Mr. Griffin, the Commodore. The Governor said, 'You have been cruizing about with fifteen ships, and yet you allowed the French, who had only eight, to defy you, sail to Madras, land their chests of silver, and then sail wherever they were going. You sailed to Covelong as though you really meant to capture them, but returned saying that they had escaped. If you really meant to capture them, you would have pursued them closely as soon as they were sighted; but you set sail two days after they had appeared, then wasted a day in the Pondichery roads, and spent eight days reaching Tiruvâmiyûr and Covelong, touching at Âlambarai and Sadras. Long before this, they had reached Madras, landed the chests of silver and other goods, 400 soldiers, and 100 Coffrees, and then, after taking in water and provisions, sailed for their destination, while you delayed and only reached Madras when the enemy had gone. Is it for this that the King and the Company appointed you? You hasten eagerly to seize boat-loads of firewood, fishing boats and

catamarans, but when you fall in with men-of-war ready for battle, you make excuses for avoiding them. It is just what Mr. Peyton did before at the critical moment; we trusted in him and so we lost Madras. Now too that we trust in you, we shall also be confounded.' To this Mr. Griffin replied, 'How can you bear to have people in your service who run away? we will depart.' But the other said, 'If the enemy receive no reinforcement, you may be trusted; but if they should be reinforced, I am sure you would not remain, but would fly to Bengal, Batavia or somewhere. I shall write to Europe and you may go.' When they had thus disputed, Mr. Griffin went aboard, and ordered his ships to get under sail. But I hear that some gentlemen intervened and reconciled them.[1]

I sent to 'Ābd-ul-hamîd Khân, son of 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, Nawâb of Sidhout, six yards of two-coloured broadcloth, six yards of velvet, six small knives, six pairs of scissors, two framed mirrors worth two pagodas, Bussorah tobacco worth 15 rupees, two stout canes, two bottles of Europe vinegar, and other things. I gave a present of 10 rupees to those who had come and sent them away with a letter. They departed, saying that they would visit Chidambaram and then return home. There is nothing else important.

[1] The conversation appears imaginary. Floyer and Griffin appear to have been on excellent terms. This remark does not apply however to the relations between Griffin and his captains. See Introduction.

Saturday, July 20.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he was busy writing letters to Mascareigne. I waited till eleven o'clock, then went to the nut-godown and wrote two letters, one of them to M. Golard [2] in Bengal. This I delivered to Kêsava Prasâd, who is here on his way back to Bengal from Râmêsvaram whither he went on a pilgrimage. As he was known to the Honourable Governor, he visited him, and having stayed a month is now departing with a letter of recommendation to M. de Leyrit. I wrote to M. Golard as follows:—'Please pay within the year the thousand pagodas you have promised, and be sure to send a bill of exchange.' I gave this letter to Kêsava Prasâd, and also asked him to urge the matter on my behalf. I sent the other letter by Mâriyappa Mudali to M. du Bausset. There is nothing more worth writing.

Sunday, July 21.[3]—I heard this morning that an Agamudiyan cloth-painter's wife, who lived with her husband in the weavers' street next to Alamêlu the dancing girl's house, had given birth to four male children early this morning, that two of them

[1] *9th Âdi, Vibhava.*

[2] Golard was a councillor in Bengal. Dupleix treats him with extreme severity in his report of 1750 : he expected the Company to have dismissed Golard on the death of his protector, and is astonished to see him holding a rank enjoyed by many honest men ; he was concerned in a murder before he came out to India, and recently has been engaged in an intrigue intended to discredit the Council of Pondichery in connection with the decision in M. Porcher's case. But Dupleix was so hasty in his expressions of opinion, and changed his mind about men's characters so rapidly, that it is difficult to judge the value that should be attached to all this.

10th Âdi, Vibhava.

were still-born, and that the other two had died in three hours.[1] Every one in town, Europeans and Tamils alike, went to see the children.

When I told the Governor, he was surprised and said, 'They cannot live. There have been many such cases in Europe but the children never live. In what month of pregnancy were they born?' I told him that it was in the seventh month and that they had been buried. I heard no other news worth writing this morning.

At six o'clock this evening I received a letter from Nawâb Mahfuz Khân, along with another written by Muhammad Murtazâ to M. Paradis No one knows who Muhammad Murtazâ is. He wrote :— 'I have regarded you as my brother ever since I met you at Kârikâl and made friends with you. Since then I have been at Aurangabad and so have not written to you. I have just returned; be pleased to write often that our friendship may increase.' I meant to report this first to the Governor and then to M. Paradis, but the Governor called me and said that he had heard from the runner that Mahfuz Khân had sent a letter for him. I explained that Mahfuz Khân had written to me, that another letter (as written above) had come addressed to M. Paradis, Governor of Kârikâl, and that the runner, perhaps, thought that the second letter was addressed to the Governor. He agreed, and asked what Mahfuz

[1] Reading *jâmam* for *mâsam*.

Khân had written about. I said that he wanted some dried camel's milk and amber for medicine, and that he had written to me because it was too trivial to write about to the Governor. He ordered me to procure and send them without delay. Just then his wife called him; he went, and, when he had talked for a short time with her, came back and said joyfully that our people had outwitted the English and captured 200 cows and bullocks, which had been bought for them in the country and were being brought in. To please him, I said wittily, 'Indeed! Last time they went and caught their horses and now they have captured their cows.' I then departed.

About three hours earlier, Malayappan's peon, who had gone with Alagan and come back with the cows, told me that the cows (which belonged to the Fort St. David Reddis) had been grazing near Bâhûr along with the Bâhûr Reddis' cows and that they had been driven to the camp and were being brought in. 'Alagan told me,' he said, 'that he had been ordered by Madame to give out that these cows were being brought in from the country for the English, and that he had been warned that he would lose his ears if he told the truth.' Malayappan's peon then went away, having begged me not to say who had told me about it. These things happen, but what can be done?

The following is what was written by Bangâru [1] at Madras on July 11, and received by me yesterday:—

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[1] See Vol. IV, p. 243 *supra*.

'Regarding the Nayinâr, I cannot write the injustice he is doing. When the houses were pulled down, the owners removed the materials to a certain house, and lived where they could. But the Nayinâr has been carrying off the materials, as though they were ownerless, and selling them as he pleased. Besides this, the Second, M. Moreau, has only received 30 garse of the paddy that has been brought in, so no grain can be had in the town. Moreover he claims unlawfully from the paddy-merchants one-fourth of a measure per bullock-load for the Second and one-eighth for himself. In addition, the Nayinâr against all right rides on horseback through the bazaar. As a Lubbay fish-seller did not stand up as he passed, he was accused unjustly, given fifteen stripes at each shop, and expelled the town. He does this in order to make all obey him ; and he exacts a duty now even from the fish-sellers. He beat his debtors, and so troubled them that they all left the town last month. He caused Linga Chetti's house to be sold for 3,000 pagodas—Guntûr Bâlu Chetti knows this. You may believe that this is the way in which he exercises justice. I write this to you because people will come and live here only if the poor are treated with benevolence and are not troubled. Then the town will be peaceful; large quantities of betel and tobacco will be sold ; and I shall succeed in avoiding loss. Thereupon I make my petition to you. If it is accepted and proper orders are given, the town

will be at peace, and I also shall be benefited by your favour. Till now I have been losing about 60 pagodas a month on the betel and tobacco farms. I write this that you may make the necessary orders. As for the arrack farm, arrack shops are set up wherever a man pleases, and there is neither punishment nor control. I write this also that orders may be made. Be pleased to tell me how I should act.

'Moreover the ships have brought this year tobacco worth 200 pagodas, which was bought by the Europeans at the Fort and is being sold. Even before, the Company's and the Poligar's people at the mettu were letting house-materials pass without permission. But from the beginning of this month, the Poligar has dismissed the Company's people lest they should cause trouble, appointed his own men, and has been allowing house-materials to pass out just as he pleases. Only since this Poligar came here, have such unjust things been done. He has his palankin and horse; and he has got property worth nearly 2,000 pagodas. His injustice cannot be told. All the townspeople, unable to endure it, are forsaking the place. Bear these things in mind, and inquire into them without mentioning my name. The Poligar is my mortal enemy; I know not what false charges he will bring in order to put me to shame. He does his best to injure me as much as possible. I write this, that orders may be given. This is my request.'

Such is the letter she wrote to me.

Monday, July 22.[1]—This morning M. Paradis sent the letter which arrived for him yesterday, and desired me to interpret it. Thinking I had better do so in person, I went and interpreted it to him as written yesterday. He said, 'There is nothing particular to write in reply, and I have nothing to say. Write an answer of compliment.'

Just then a peon came and told me that the Governor wanted me; so I took leave of M. Paradis and went to the Governor's.

Kâmiyappa Mudali, Kumarappa Mudali, Muttukumarappa Mudali, Ranganâtha Mudali and his brother (I do not know his name), all inhabitants of Olukarai, have presented the following complaint to the Honourable Governor against the writer, Chidambara Mudali :—' Four years ago, in *Rudrôtkâri*,[2] an agreement was made that, as Chidambara Mudali was entitled to a half-share in Muttukumarappa Mudali's property, he should pay 36 kalams (measured in markâls of 8 seers), each year for the four years from *Raktâkshi*,[3] that afterwards he should enjoy full hereditary rights, and that he should possess the house-site on which he had been living and which had fallen to his share. Now that the four years are over, he has arranged to grant his share to a Christian, a stranger. It is

[1] 11th *Âdi, Vibhava.*
[2] 1743-44.
[3] The year *Raktâkshi* began on April 9, 1744.

not right to bring in a Christian and a stranger. Either Chidambara Mudali should manage it himself or he should appoint a relation to do so.'

When the Governor read it, he asked who Chidambara Mudali was. Just then Chidambara Mudali himself arrived; and in answer to the question, I led him forward and said that this was the man. Thereupon he turned to Chidambara Mudali and said, 'You yourself should cultivate your share, or you should name a relation to manage it, or else it should be left to your co-proprietor, according to the old division. But what service has this Christian stranger done you that you should favour him and let him occupy the land?' Chidambara Mudali replied, 'I have entrusted him with the property because he has helped me much.' But the Governor said, 'You cannot give the lands to a Christian. You must appoint a relation to manage them, and enjoy them according to the rights of inheritance.' Chidambara Mudali replied, 'I have a right to dispose of the cultivation, land, water, house, and so forth, as I please.' Thereupon the Governor asked him whether he could prove this. He produced a note written by Muttukumarappa Mudali. When I read it, and explained that it gave Chidambara Mudali a half-share in the house, lands, cultivation and so forth, he asked who had written it. I said that Muttukumarappa Mudali had written it. He then asked how the latter could object to what he

himself had written. Muttukumarappa Mudali said, 'As I was troubled, I was afraid of my co-proprietor and so I wrote it. The note is invalid, and I cannot be bound by it. But if he will take an oath that I wrote the note of my own accord, I will abide by it.' Thereon the Governor ordered that the matter should be settled by four arbitrators. Then they all took leave and departed.

Afterwards, Chinna Mudali came and said, 'As ordered, Sadayappa Mudali, Wandiwash Tiruvêngada Pillai, and Mallâ Reddi were appointed to examine into the matter of the plunder of Alisapâkkam. They have decided that, of the 1,400 pagodas at which the farm is fixed, 1,100 pagodas should be remitted for the year in which the village was plundered and 200 pagodas for the expenses of cultivation for the next year, and that, for the other three years, the 1,400 pagodas should be paid in full. But as M. Dulaurens says that he will not accept the decision, please mention the matter to the Governor.' I went to the Governor, who was in his room, and told him that Tânappa Mudali had come to say M. Dulaurens would not accept the decision about the plunder of Alisapâkkam. To this the Governor said angrily, 'What does the dog[1] come here for? I saved him from ruin and made a man of him. In return, he goes about telling everybody he sees in the town that he has had to pay me

[1] I.e., Lazar *alias* Tânappa Mudali.

a large share of his wealth.[1] How can I trust such a dog?'

When I was at the Honourable Governor's and when he saw Imâm Sâhib's man, Chokkappa Mudali, he asked why they had not yet gone. I told him that they had brought a list of what was wanted for the marriage. He asked what it amounted to. I said that they had made it up to 27,000 pagodas. 'Where is the money to come from?' he asked; 'You know the condition we are in; how can you expect to get it?'—I replied, 'I have explained that no money can be had here now; but the gumastah and the others who have come say that, if we give them 10,000 pagodas or 20,000 rupees, they can arrange somehow for the rest.' The Governor exclaimed angrily, 'Twenty-thousand rupees! why, I will not give them 20,000 cash. Nor will I give up their goods at Madras, for they have claimed merchants' goods as theirs a thousand times over, and carried them out of Madras. I can neither give up the goods nor pay money here.' Chokkappa Mudali answered, 'Your people at Madras would only pass goods out when they were bribed.' Lest the Governor should get angry if I interpreted to him just what Chokkappa Mudali had said, I interpreted it so as to suggest what had been said, and yet to make the Governor think that I had rebuked Chokkappa Mudali. He understood me and

[1] See Vol. II, p. 14 *ante*. The share paid was one-third, together with money owed by Kanakarâya Mudali to Dupleix and his wife.

made no answer. Then Chokkappa Mudali went home and I went to the nut-godown.

Tuesday, July 23[1]—This morning the Governor told me to seal up the letters to Mauritius. I believe they were given to M. de Rumière[?] who was sent for and told to go to Madras and thence to Mascareigne on board the *Princesse Marie*, which is lying at Madras and which has already been ordered to sail to Mascareigne. The despatches were thus sent by him.

The herdsmen who drove in the Bâhûr Nâttârs' cows the day before yesterday, pretending that they belonged to the English, were ordered to wait in the centre hall, while the Governor and his wife were in the eastern room. They had with them four peons,—that rascal Alagan, his brother, one Irisan and another. He called me and told me to ask the herdsmen who really owned the cows. When I asked them, they said, 'Fifty or sixty of the cattle belong to Sâmbasiva Reddi of Fort St. David, fifteen or twenty to Muttirusappa Mudali, and the rest to Parikkalpattu Venkatapati.' When I reported this, he asked me who these people were. I replied, 'Sâmbasiva Reddi is the bound-renter of Fort St. David; he has no authority, but he lives there. Muttirusappa Mudali formerly served the English, but he is now very old; his son has died, and he holds no post. The other is the headman

[1] 12th Âdi, Vibhava.

of Bâhûr.' Then Madame Dupleix asked me whether the cows brought in from Alisapâkkam had been sent back. I replied, 'They never asked for them, and, even if they had, they would not have been sent. But these cattle belong to the Bâhûr headman.' Madame said that Venkatapati Reddi's cattle ought not to be restored to him, as he had caught and handed over to the English four Europeans belonging to the detachment that brought the cows in. On hearing these false words, the Governor turned to me and said, 'Tell the herdsmen that I meant to restore the cattle, when I learnt that they belonged to Parikkalpattu Venkatapati Reddi; but as he has seized our people and delivered them to the English, I will not release them. I am also angry that Akkal Nâyakkan's people should have seized our troops' muskets and women's cloths. Tell him that I will burn his jungles and cut off his head.' I repeated this accordingly. I think the herdsmen were privy to this matter of driving the cattle in, because the peons called them as witnesses, because they themselves admit driving the cattle, and because the peons spoke like a bridegroom, smilingly and without fear. I have seen other cases like this. I think therefore that the herdsmen were promised a half-share. I did not explain this to the Governor, but asked the herdsmen whether it was usual to seize the cattle of Muhammadans from the neighbouring villages, as well as cattle belonging to the English. But

though I questioned them thus, the Governor did not ask why the cattle had been brought in, did not order their return, did not tell her that she was only trying to bolster up her first report about the insult offered by the delivery of the Europeans to the English, and did not even inquire why they had said first that the cattle were being driven in from Arcot, then that they belonged to the inhabitants of Devanâmpattanam, and then that they belonged to the Muhammadan farmer of the Bâhûr lands,—instead of even asking from what grazing ground the cattle had been driven, he ignored all this, and gave orders in accordance with his wishes, so that I was reminded of the common opinion that he hates repaying what he has borrowed, that his wife's influence renders his rule worse and more unjust than the rule of Muhammadans, and that he never gives up a thing because he has acquired it wrongfully. Therefore I replied so as to please him, just as, if he should ask me if an ass were worth a horse, I should say, 'Yes, and an elephant as well.' Then I went away. When I was questioning them, Madame Dupleix interrupted me twice, to say that I need not examine the herdsmen, and to ask what I was saying. I told her that I was only repeating what the Governor had said. As he is thus besotted over his wife, he does not care what he does, or what evil may befall him. He said nothing, only nodded assent to her, sang the same song as she did, and departed.

Besides, when 200 bullock-loads of wheat belonging to the English were being brought last year from Arcot to Fort St. David by Villupuram, our people seeing them drove the 200 bullocks into the bounds, and reported that they had been found inside the limits. But when I questioned the bullock-man, he said, 'The bullocks are mine, and I am carrying the wheat for hire. The wheat belongs to the English'; and he produced the list sent from Arcot, showing from whom it was sent, and a cadjan letter addressed to Rangappa Nâyakkan.[1] On that occasion the Governor forbade Muhammadan goods to be seized in the Moghul countries, as our goods must pass through Moghul countries and there might be difficulties. Therefore he ordered ten peons to drive the cattle back to Villupuram where they had been seized, and let them be carried thence to Fort St. David. But now he never thought of asking why Muhammadans' cows should be seized in a dozen different ways, or of ordering them to be given back. I cannot imagine anything more astonishing, nor have I seen a man so besotted over his wife. This will assuredly lead to evil; it cannot be doubted.

About two hours later, Madame Dupleix took 200 rupees from Ranga Pillai, the writer, gave it to the herdsmen and dismissed them, whereon Alagan and the peons took from them half, that is, 100 rupees, after they came aside. But a dispute arose

[1] Chief dubâsh at Fort St. David.

as some got more than others, and so the matter came to light. One or two said that, if the matter were known, they would become a by-word, and that is how it has ended. One of them came and told me that the herdsmen had received 200 rupees, but that if the matter were known all would be blamed. [.] In all, 206 cows and 10 bullocks were seized and delivered to Parasurâma Pillai.

Tuesday, July 30.[1]—[.] I hear the following news :—An amaldâr, a servant of Hasan Muhî-ud-dîn of Gingee, occupied the temple of Tirukkôyilûr with 100 horse and two or three-hundred peons. He was seizing and imprisoning the headmen of those places; so they wrote to Pandâri of Vêttavalam that, if he obtained their release, they would give him a present. Thereupon he surrounded the temple with a thousand men. Immediately the Muhammadan, who was inside, closed the gates and made ready. But as soon as they set fire to the gate, the Muhammadan with his people made terms, laid down their arms, and came out. The peons and the horsemen were released, but the amaldâr was seized, and the money that had been collected along with 3,000 kalams of grain was carried away. The imprisoned headmen were set free, and Pandâri, taking the amaldâr with him, set out for Sathurakaram.[2]

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[1] *19th Âdi, Vibhava.*

[2] Unidentified.

Thereupon 'Abd-ul-jalîl, who was at Villupuram, departed the same day to a certain village, and hid in a hut, being greatly alarmed, and intending to march to Gingee as soon as he had procured troops from there.

I reported this news to the Governor, and informed him of a letter brought by some people from Pandâri of Vêttavalam. It ran as follows:—'When I first wrote to you desiring you to allow my wife to live at Kârikâl, you were pleased to write to M. Paradis. There was then no opportunity of going, but I intend to send her now. As M. Paradis is at Pondichery, and as I do not know the people there, I request you to write thither. I do not ask for gun-powder, shot, troops, money and other things, but I only request you to continue your friendship towards me.' When I reported this, he told me to write and send a polite answer. He said, 'Anyone from there cannot help being seen by the Nawâb's messengers and other people; and whatever sympathy we may feel, we cannot show it or let any one perceive it.' The Governor talked for nearly an hour about Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's weakness, and said that Pandâri would never have dared to rob but for that. As it was then past twelve, I took leave and, on my way home, I told the horsemen and Nâranappayyar who came from Vêttavalam to come to me to-morrow. I also explained to them what is written above, dismissed them, and then came home.

Wednesday, July 31.[1]—At nine o'clock this morning I received a letter from Wandiwash Tiruvêngadam Pillai at Kârikâl, with an account explaining the discrepancy between the accounts as settled and those of M. Paradis, under which he still claims 1,741 pagodas on account of fraud in the management of the villages. Having read these, I took them, and went with Sêshayyangâr to M. Paradis who is living at M. Cayrefourg's house opposite to Arunâchala Chetti's. As the Governor had gone to the Fort to attend the sale of the goods which Madame Choisy has received from Europe, I went to M. Paradis with Sêshayyangâr, hoping to be able to talk with him at leisure; but when we arrived, we found M. Paradis dressing to go out. When we salaamed, he received us politely, sat down and asked us to sit also, and then inquired what we had come about. I replied, 'I promised to visit you as soon as I had received the accounts from Kârikâl. Although Sêshayyangâr has been here four or five days, I did not come before because I preferred to wait for the accounts which arrived only to-day, and which we have brought with us.' He said, 'Are his accounts and the accounts of the harvest in the villages for that year false? They were made up; some items were struck off and some added; and he has declared their truth. They are attested by him, his partners, and witnesses. But now you say that there is another

[1] 20th *Âdi, Vibhava.*

account. Where was this when the accounts were settled? It must be the same as this. However much you examine it, a false account is always false. If the matter is looked into, another 500 or 1,000 may have to be paid. If you are sure your account is correct, write to the Council saying that you will pay a penalty if it is otherwise. When I return, and assemble the people to examine the account, there will be no difficulty if I find that your account is right. But you must agree to pay a fine of 10,000 pagodas to the Company if it proves false. I will examine into the matter when I return.' Even if we could have trusted his promises, we did not know in what terms to write out such a bond; and also we felt we could not trust Tiruvêngadam, because of his past actions; so, not knowing what to answer, we murmured something and came away. As we could not answer his searching questions, we came away preferring to pay the money. If we had answered him, and he had found us guilty, we should have had to pay the pagodas now demanded with a fine as well, and moreover be dishonoured in people's eyes, and all to no purpose. So we departed, agreeing to pay the sum.

AUGUST 1748.

Thursday, August 1.[1]—I went first to the nut-godown, and thence to M. Paradis, and said, 'Pandâri of Vêttavalam means to send his wife and children to Kârikâl. Please write that they should be allowed to remain there, that a house should be made ready, that a salute of five guns should be fired when they enter the town, and, when they visit M. Le Riche, that they should be given two pieces of damask silk and that Prakâsa Mudali and others should go to meet them with respect and supply them with rice, vegetables and other things.' He objected somewhat, asking whether so much respect need be shown; and then said that there was neither broadcloth nor anything else, and that the two pieces would have to be purchased at Tranquebar. He then wrote a letter (as written above) to M. Le Riche and gave it me. He also ordered a polite letter in Canarese[2] to be written in reply to the one he had received. I wrote it and gave it him, and he sealed it, as I desired, and gave it back to me. I took it and then went to the nut-godown. When I went to the Fort to see M. Cornet, I heard that he had gone away, so I came home.

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[1] 21*st Âdi, Vibhava.*

[2] The language commonly used in addressing Hindu princes, etc., in Southern India was Telugu Ranga Pillai may be using 'Canarese' loosely to indicate Telugu. The two languages are closely allied.

Then Vellayân, the Nayinâr's peon who is in charge of the prison, came and said, 'Lôkâbhirâma Mudali, Maduraināyakam, Ayyâkannu, the Singarikôyil Brâhman, the Brâhman jester, Saruvâ Reddi, his brother and others, a dozen in all, who were seized and imprisoned as spies, have been chained in pairs by the neck like dogs and set to carry earth, just like the coolies working at the ditch. When the chains were put upon them, they were in great distress. Lôkâbhirâma Mudali alone reflected that it was the will of God, and that he would only suffer the cruel punishment for a short time and then be released. But the Governor was told that he had said it would kill them. Both the Governor and Madame ordered the punishment to be continued, no matter whether they should die or not. So they were chained, taken to the ditch by the north gate, and made to carry earth. So they carried earth till the evening.

Saturday, August 3.[1]—[.] I was sent for again at eleven o'clock. The Governor said, 'Safdar 'Alî Khân sent M. Dumas two cross-hilted daggers set with precious stones, two swords, a *kalgiturra*,[2] a quiver, a bow, a chank, a dress of honour and other things; and in consequence, he was held in high esteem in Europe. Write now

[1] 23rd *Âdi*, *Vibhava.*

[2] The jewelled plume surmounting the *sarpech* or aigrette upon the turban.

to Imâm Sâhib desiring him to send me similar presents as if they came from Nâsîr Jang.' I was also ordered to desire Imâm Sâhib to write the Governor a letter as follows: 'As you have overcome your enemies and captured Madras and other towns, meeting everywhere with success, so that you have no rival, as your glory, power and valour as lord of those parts shine like the sun, we request you to help the Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr and the other Nawâbs should they be troubled by the Marathas or other enemies. Moreover I have written to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân of Arcot and the other Nawâbs, ordering them to consult with you and act accordingly in all State matters. They will do this. Even the Pâdshâh of these dominions is not so valorous as you, nor can he act so bravely and achieve such success. In token of this, we send you a dress of honour, jewels and weapons (as written above) such as the Emperor is wont to send his nobles. Receive them with respect and maintain our friendship.' I was also to say that, if he wrote such a letter and did the business, all the expenses involved should be repaid him; and I was to add, 'All Europe has read the letters regarding the help which you rendered and the respect which you showed to me and to the French nation. If you will do me this favour, I will remember it as long as the world lasts, you will be written of in the Gazette, and your name will shine like the sun throughout Europe, Turkey, Ispahan and other

places. When your ship went to Manilla, the English seized and sold her to the Dutch;[1] but the Company in Europe has settled with the Dutch that the money shall be repaid. I wrote formerly to Avây Sâhib to inquire about the accounts from the English who then were at Madras. The Dutch shall be asked for the money which we will collect and send to you.' I was also to say that, as the Company had ordered the amount to be paid, Imâm Sâhib's letter would be placed before the Council and the money delivered. I said that I would write accordingly, and, as I was leaving, he said, 'No one must know about this letter. Send one of our own people. Avây Sâhib must know nothing of it.'

I went at once to Madanânda Pandit, related to him all that I have written above, and told him first to write it in Telugu and then translate it into Persian.

I asked him whether he had the original or a copy of the letter received in M. Dumas' time; but he said that he had not. So I wrote a list of jewels according to what I found among my papers.

Two horses arrived to-day from Kârikâl escorted by seventeen of Mudâmiah's people from Chidambaram. One was a Manilla horse and the other appeared to be from Quedah.

They were two of the six horses belonging to the English that M. Paradis seized on their way from

[1] See Introduction to Vol. IV, p. x.

Tanjore to Negapatam. When they reached the Governor's, he inspected them and ordered them to be taken to the stables. Mudâmiah sent a letter about the despatch of the horses, and I interpreted it to the Governor. He told me to write a polite reply and send it by the peons, giving them batta both to and from Kârikâl and a present of 5 rupees. I gave them the letter which I had written and told them that Parasurâma Pillai would pay their batta. They said that they would get it from him and set out to-morrow.

Sunday, August 4.[1]—I heard to-day that Mr. Boscawen, Rear-Admiral,[2] had arrived at Fort St. David in command of a squadron of ten King's ships. It is said that five or six have arrived and that the rest will come to-day or to-morrow. The title of Rear-Admiral is the third in rank, the first being Admiral and the second, Vice-Admiral; 'Commodore' corresponds with the French 'Commandeur,' and is a rank inferior to the Rear-Admiral's. I am not quite sure of the name of the Rear-Admiral who has just arrived, but I shall ascertain and insert it later. It is also said that more ships are expected. As these ships sailed from Europe when it was known that the French had

[1] *24th Âdi, Vibhava*

[2] Boscawen's squadron reached Fort St. David on $\frac{\text{July 26–27}}{\text{August 6–7}}$ 1748. It consisted of 8 ships of the line, 4 small vessels, and 13 Company's ships. Letters to Fort St. David, Vol. II, p. 94. His squadron must have been sighted farther south and the news sent up express from Kârikâl.

taken Madras, and as they have now arrived, they may have brought orders as to what the English are to do. We shall see what happens.

The new-comer is superior in rank to Mr. Griffin, the former Commander,[1] whom the Muhammadans call the 'Coward' and the Tamils the 'Widow,' as, in spite of all his ships, he has done nothing. We have still to learn what the new-comer is like. But I think all depends upon destiny. If a man is fortunate, a use will be found even for the fragments of a piece of cloth that he orders to be torn up; but, if he is ill-fated, all his actions end in disgrace, however brave and wise he may be. And, as this is an ill-time for the English, even though a great man should come, he could do nothing—that is what I believe; but we shall see what happens.

As soon as the Governor returned from church, I showed him the answer which I wrote yesterday to be sent to Imâm Sâhib, saying it was the rough copy, and asking whether it would serve or whether another letter should be written according to his orders. So saying, I read the letter with which he was overjoyed.

He gave me a printed book that has recently been written regarding events in India,[2] and said, 'You

1 This is inaccurate. Griffin was senior to Boscawen, and that was the reason why he withdrew from Fort St. David to Ceylon and took no part in the Siege of Pondichery.

2 This must have been the Abbé Guyon's *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, published in 1744. The list of jewels referred to occurs in Vol. III, pp. 348, etc.

will find here a list of the jewels sent by Safdar 'Alî Khân to M. Dumas through Mîr Ghulâm Husain. It also narrates briefly all the events that have occurred since the town was founded—the death of Dôst 'Alî Khân and the Maratha incursion, the fame which M. Dumas won by protecting the ruined subah and by driving away the Marathas, and other things. It gives all the details of the arms, the *kalgiturra, sarpech,* a spear, three elephants and the grant of Alisapâkkam. Moreover it says much about Imâm Sâhib's having given a stamp for rupees. It says that the gain made by the Company and the glory acquired by the French nation were entirely due to M. Dumas' rule. The King and all Europe are reading it. There are no limits to the glory he has obtained.' Giving me this book, he ordered me to write the list of jewels according to it. I took it, and went to the nut-godown. There I compared the list with what I had written in the letter to Imâm Sâhib; ordered the list to be re-written; and came home as it was past twelve.

At seven o'clock this morning the Governor sent for me and told me that a passage must be added to Imâm Sâhib's letter as follows:—'As Muhammad Shâh Pâdshâh and Nizâm-ul-mulk have died, all law and order have vanished, and each is seizing as much of the kingdom as he can. I too could have seized territory if I had pleased. But that would be wrong. It will be well if you obtain and send Nâsîr Jang's parwâna for the countries of Villiyanallûr

and Valudâvûr about which I have already written. Otherwise I must act like other people. Please do your best in the matter.' I added this to Imâm Sâhib's letter and came home at nine o'clock.

Monday, August 5.[1]—When, this evening, I went to the Governor, he said, 'A petition has been presented against the inhabitants of Olukarai and the out-villages that they still owe 30,000 rupees. Examine the matter as they are said to be so behindhand.' He gave me the petition. I took it and went to the nut-godown.

He sent for me again to ask if the stone cutters' chisels had been received. I replied that they would arrive in five or six days.

He then [asked me] about the news from Arcot. I said, 'I hear that the Marathas are marching with 10,000 horse through Mysore. The people of Tanjore and Mysore, the Tondimân and the Maravan, want to recover Trichinopoly from the Muhammadans and establish there Kâttu Râjâ's[2] son. Srîmushnam, Vriddhachalam and other places are to be added to Tanjore, and the territories which were lately conquered by the Muhammadans are to be restored to their former owners. They are

[1] *25th Âdi, Vibhava.*

[2] I suppose the Kâttu Râjâ here mentioned to be, not the Tanjore claimant, but the person mentioned in the *Madras Country Correspondence*, 1740, p. 47. 'The poligars of Marravur and Tondeman . . . have raised an Army . . . with the son of Cautrauja, one of the princes of Trichinopoly, at the head of them, with a design to make him their king.' Possibly this was the poligar of Udaiyârpâlaiyam, who is still locally called the Kâttu Râjâ.

raising troops to attack Trichinopoly. When Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son was marching from Tinnevelly to Trichinopoly, he was waylaid and attacked by some poligars' forces. But escaping them he has reached the fort of Trichinopoly. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân at once encamped at Marathapêttai[1], and sent Zain-ud-dîn Khân and 'Alî Sâlis to Vellore.[2] I do not know whether he will wait till they return from treating with Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, or will march towards Trichinopoly. Arcot and Lâlâpêttai are upside down.'

On hearing this, he was overjoyed, thinking that he could get some money if there was a rebellion, and repeated the news to those who were with him.

Just then a priest of St. Paul's Church came to see the Governor, so I came out and waited on the verandah where the sentinels stand on guard. After seeing the Governor, the priest came to me and inquired after my health. I replied that, by his favour, I was well. He then said, 'There is some ground which the Pariah Christians wish to acquire. Have you any objection to this?' I replied, 'I must first know where and what it is; else how can I answer you?' He said, 'If I were to ask the

[1] Unidentified. It is probably the same as the 'Fattehpêttai' mentioned below (p. 200). A letter in the *Madras Country Correspondence*, 1748 (p. 49), says, 'The Nabob designs to go to Chingee and is now gone to Mahomed Petta.'

[2] This news is confirmed by the report of the English spy at Arcot. See *Madras Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 49.

Governor, he would do as I asked. But, I don't want to trouble him about trifles.' Just then, Tyâgu told me that I was wanted by the Governor. As he had seen me talking to the priest, he was jesting about it with M. Guillard, M. Bussy, M. Robert, M. Bury and M. Duquesne who were there. I suppose that, as the Governor knows how the priests of St. Paul's Church have been abusing me day and night to Madame, and that all her unjust accusations are due to them, he was saying that they might speak to me like friends, but that their thoughts were very different from their words.

When I went and stood before him, M. Bury, M. Guillard and the rest were still laughing. The Governor went aside, sat down, and talked for a short time about the Arcot news.

He then asked if the Dutch sloop or ship which lay in the Mylapore roads with some of M. de La Bourdonnais' goods had not been wrecked.[1] I said that I had heard so and believed it to be true. He then asked, 'Is there no one to declare that there were goods of M. de La Bourdonnais aboard the Dutch ship—gold, silver, jewels, precious stones and merchandise? You must find some one as a witness, either from Madras or Mylapore.' I said

[1] This refers to a charge which La Bourdonnais' counsel combated with great vigour. See *Mémoire pour La Bourdonnais*, p. 259, etc. It is there stated that the Dutch ship came into the Madras roads on October 6, 1746; was allowed to take in goods she had left behind at Madras; then anchored off St. Thomé; and was lost with most of her crew in the storm.

I would inquire and tell him. He then said, 'As your brother was there, he must know everything. Ask him to tell us what La Bourdonnais stole.' I said, 'My brother went along with M. d'Espréménil and the rest who went from here, and remained with them; so he can know nothing. Those only can know who were in his[1] confidence. Besides, M. d'Espréménil told him to have nothing to do with M. de La Bourdonnais. As soon as a petition was presented, you got angry and ordered their return. So M. de La Bourdonnais was left alone, and M. d'Espréménil and M. Dulaurens returned. Only M. d'Espréménil went back to Madras, while my brother, M. Dulaurens and the rest remained here; nor did he ever return. So what can he know? He knows even less than I do. He has not been in good health since he returned, and that has prevented him from going out.' The Governor seemed a little disappointed, and said, 'Is he deaf or blind? He could tell if he liked.' I explained that my brother would say 'I don't know' to any question, and that he would be startled and alarmed if a palmyra tree were to fall ten miles away. I think he is trying to obtain proofs of what he wrote to Europe—that MM. de La Bourdonnais, de La Villebague and Desjardins had stolen crores of money—for they have been put in prison and the whole matter is to be inquired into. Besides, when the papers about

[1] I.e., La Bourdonnais'.

M. de La Villebague and M. Desjardins were examined, he could not find a cash to charge them with. M. Desjardins was warehouse-keeper until M. de La Bourdonnais came here. Then he handed over the warehouse books to M. Barthélemy, the former commandant, and obtained a receipt from him which M. Desjardins still has. I have heard that the books are not to be found at Madras, and also that nothing is known about certain other matters, so he now is trying to find proofs. But an enemy can only be accused and brought to ruin after evidence has been obtained. This confirms what I heard, that the Governor has long been aiming at this by his inquiries. When I answered thus, he rose and went to Madame's room, and I took the opportunity of going to the nut-godown.

At half-past eight, a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went, I found M. Paradis and others at table with him. On seeing me, he rose, took me aside and said, 'No bricks have yet been supplied. Can we not impress the bullocks in town to fetch them? Is it not disgraceful that no coolies are to be got in this town?' I replied, 'As there is neither trade nor weaving going on, all but the cultivators work for daily wages under the Company only as it suits them.'—'But,' he rejoined, 'must they not do Company's work in this emergency? The townspeople care nothing about helping the Company. I will have a daily levy of one man from every house, and whoever

refuses shall be fined.' So saying, he sat down to supper. I went to the nut-godown and gave strict orders to the Nayinâr (head of the peons), Vîrâ Nâyakkan, Kumara Pillai (the bound-renter), and others to get coolies. Then I called the writer charged with hiring bullocks, and ordered him to impress the bullocks of those who used to bring in bricks but who are now bringing paddy, and of those who are bringing petty bazaar wares, in order to bring in bricks for the next ten days. I gave the necessary orders, put two peons in charge of this affair, and came home at ten o'clock at night.

All the soldiers on guard, the sergeants and others, have been ordered to superintend the people carrying earth at the Villiyanallûr gate, and they have been doing so. I think that the work on the fortifications is being hastened because of the arrival of the English ships and soldiers.

Thursday, August 8.[1]—As I was stung by a scorpion yesterday, I stayed at home and did not go to the Governor's, but I went this morning. He said, 'As Tarwâdi gave a bill of exchange on Masulipatam for 10,000 Arcot rupees, you must recover the difference in value between Pondichery and Arcot rupees.' When I asked Tarwâdi for it, he said that he would not pay it but I must. I sent him away, saying that I would inquire and speak to him afterwards.

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[1] 28*th Âdi*, *Vibhava.*

M. Bouttet[1] sent a bill of exchange from Bengal for 10,000 and odd rupees to the Fiscal, Mijnheer Vermont, at Negapatam. The latter forwarded it with M. Bouttet's letter to the Governor, and with another from himself to Tarwâdi asking him to collect and send the money. So Tarwâdi brought the bill of exchange and the letter for the Governor, together with a letter he had received from Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, and asked for the rupees. As the bill was drawn at fifteen days' sight, the Governor accepted it, gave it back to Tarwâdi, and dismissed him saying that he would pay the amount when he brought the bill at maturity. He took it accordingly and went away.

When I went to the Governor at eight o'clock this morning, I reminded him that, the other day, when he was writing to Masulipatam and Yánâm, he told me he would write to M. Sainfray[2] to send Vallûr Antanan who is employed by the Company in the factory at Yânâm; and I asked whether the letter had been written. He said he had forgotten to write, and, taking me to his writing-room, asked me who the man was. I told him, Vallûr Antanan, and he wrote accordingly.

He then asked what Pîr Muhammad at Ganjam owed me. I said, 2,000 pagodas. He added this to

[1] An employee of the Company. He attained the rank of Councillor in 1742 (*P.R. No.* 28, p. 520).

[2] A *sous-commis* of 1740; served at Masulipatam and Yânâm; and was transferred to Bengal about 1750.

his letter to M. Sainfray, asking him to do what he could to recover the amount.

He afterwards called me and asked what people were saying about the English ships which appeared and then departed again yesterday. I replied, 'They say that the English talk big, but cannot do anything—according to the proverb, barking dogs seldom bite.' When I said this, M. Bussy, M. Guillard and others who were there agreed with me. The Governor thought so too; and, after talking for some time, he asked me what news came from Cuddalore. I replied that I had heard none. Thereupon he told me to appoint men as before to bring news from Fort St. David. But I replied, 'Not only were the men who used to serve me dismissed four or five months ago, but one or two Brâhmans and merchants there have been betrayed, driven out of the town, and greatly distressed. The present circumstances demand trustworthy men, and I cannot find any.' I cannot describe his anger when I said this. 'My lord,' I said, 'I will attempt the impossible, as the saying is, and will do my best,' and so I quietly departed to the nut-godown.

As soon as I got there, the Governor sent for me again, and said that many townspeople had been writing letters and sending out news. I replied, 'How can I affirm or deny this, when there are ten lakhs of people in the town? You must give such orders as seem good to you.' Thereupon

he ordered me to give passes only after showing him the letters. I answered, 'It would be better if none but those who produced a ticket with your seal upon it were allowed to pass. I will tell Shaikh Ibrâhîm who is here, and ask him to give orders to the posts along the roads.' Thereupon he ordered me to send for Shaikh Ibrâhîm; and, when I said that he was there, he told me to call him. When he came in, the Governor said, 'Let vessels and other commodities pass in and out of town on the production of Ranga Pillai's permit; but letters must only be allowed to pass on the production of a ticket with my seal.' He then turned to me and said, 'You must show me all the cadjan letters you receive, and I will give you a ticket to send with them. Then when they are sent out, they will reach their address.' I said I would do so, and told Shaikh Ibrâhîm to inform all the guards along the roads of this order; I also ordered my writer who distributes the passes signed by me not to give any for cadjan letters.

I then went to M. Pilavoine, as he had sent for me, and talked with him. I afterwards came home at noon with the rupees he had given me.

I rode out in the afternoon, then went to the nut-godown, and came home at nine o'clock at night.

Sunday, August 11.[1]—[.] He sent for

[1] 31st *Âdi*, *Vibhava*.

me again and told me to write a polite letter to Mahfuz Khân as follows:—' I hear that the English have offered you presents, and are seeking your help; but I am sure you will not help them. Even if you do, how will it affect us? If you join them and they march against Pondichery, the troops at Madras will advance and waste that part of the country with fire; or, if you attack Madras, we will lay waste the country from here to Arcot. Besides, the English are a powerless people. Five of their ships, three of the King's and two of the Company's, have been taken by us, and the King's ships were sunk.[1] If you refrain from helping them, we will send you rich presents and make you rejoice.' Such was the alluring letter that he told me to write.[2]

Moreover he asked whether it would be well to write to one or two persons there[3] to impress on the Nawâb the critical state of Nâsîr Jang's affairs and the consequences of the Pâdshâh's death, and to urge, that, when a mere poligar[4] was giving the Nawâb so much trouble, he would be still worse off if he helped the English. I think he proposed this

[1] An imaginary victory.

[2] On August 6/17, Mahfuz Khân's physician, Gordon by name, reached Fort St. David to arrange the terms on which he would join the English, but the English offers seem to have been inadequate. *Country Correspondence*, 1748, pp. 52–53 and 61–62.

[3] I.e., at Gingee.

[4] The poligar of Vêttavalam was at this time being attacked by Mahfuz Khân.

because he is exceedingly alarmed and troubled. I have seen what hitherto has happened. So long as the enemy is at a distance, a man may easily boast himself a soldier, but, when danger is near, he may turn tail. But however cowardly a man may be, he will still win if he is lucky. The Governor has always been fortunate, and, as the proverb says, even if he tore a piece of cloth into a thousand pieces, he would be able to make use of them. As I know this, I said that no such letter need be written at present, and that it would be enough to write a letter for the vakîl to show to the Nawâb as follows:—'Our ships fell in with the English squadron which has just arrived; in the fight they took three King's and two Company's ships and are returning with those which were not sunk; the Admiral with the rest of the English ships—seven or eight—escaped to Fort St. David with torn sails and shattered hulls. Even these show marks of cannon-shot and are full of leaks; many of the men are wounded. As they are liars and cowards, they lost half their strength at the outset and the remaining half is naught. Our ships are seeking them, and you may guess what will happen as soon as they arrive. Remind him in proper terms about what the English have been telling him and what we have always said. A resolute man need not boast beforehand; he knows that people will judge him by his actions. The French say no more than what they will really do, but the English promise

what they never can make good. All this is known to you. Speak to him according to the needs of the time. Find out what reports the English are sending, learn what Hâji Hâdi[1] tells the Nawâb, and let us know at once. The watch which Mahfuz Khân sent has been put right, and will be sent as also a better clock in exchange for the one which he returned, and the different kinds of hats [?] as soon as the thirty King's ships arrive which are daily expected with 12,000 soldiers.'

I also suggested that a letter to Mahfuz Khân should be written as follows :—' Your watch is now repaired and we will send it. Regarding the clock which you have desired me to send in exchange for the one which you returned, I wrote to Europe to procure some guns for you, and they are coming by the thirty King's ships which are now expected with 12,000 soldiers. They are also bringing a fine and costly clock specially purchased for you. These things shall be sent to you. As I look upon you as my younger brother, my joy and yours are the same ; so I write to you the joyful news of the ships' coming.' When I said that I should write as I was ordered, but that polite letters should be thus written at present and that others might be written later according to circumstances, he approved of what I suggested and ordered me to write accordingly.

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[1] See Vol. IV, p. 113.

So I wrote the letters to Mahfuz Khân and Vakîl Subbayyan, took copies of them, and delivered them, together with the watch, to the peons from Chidambaram and those parts to be carried to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Mahfuz Khân, who are halting at Gingee on their way to Trichinopoly.

Then I went and attended the marriage of Krishnâji Pandit, Appâji Pandit's younger brother, and came home about one o'clock.

Monday, August 12.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he was busy summoning officers and making military preparations.

I hear that the priests of St. Paul's Church have carried in even the doors and windows of the churches at Olukarai and Ariyânkuppam, as well as the image and other things. The Governor sent for Father Cœurdoux, the Paulist Superior, and asked why he had removed the images, doors, windows and other things from Ariyânkuppam and Olukarai. He said that he had done so on hearing that my wife and children, the women and children of the Arumpâtai's household, and even the townspeople, both men and women, were leaving their homes. Thereon the Governor sent for me and asked if the townspeople were leaving the town. I replied, 'Some poor people and Brâhmans have gone, and some women born here but married to men elsewhere may have gone also. But otherwise people are

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[1] 32nd *Âdi, Vibhava.*

going in and out as usual. That is all.' He then asked if my womenfolk had gone. I told him that neither the boys nor girls of my household had gone, and that he might send to see. He then turned to Father Cœurdoux and said, 'Why do you talk like this?' The priest answered that it was what he had heard He then asked if the Arumpâtai's women had gone. I explained that, as yesterday had been Sunday, Vinâyaka Pillai's wife had gone to the Villiyanallûr temple, and that, as the Arumpâtai owned a choultry there, his boys and girls were going and coming. Thereon the Governor said to the priest, 'Whenever you are questioned about your mistakes, you always throw the blame upon others. When you yourself carry off even your windows for fear of an English attack, it is natural that ignorant Tamils should fly. But it is you who alarm the town.' After speaking about other matters, the Governor dismissed him.

He then ordered me to send for Parasurâma Pillai. When he arrived, the Governor called me to ask him if he had sent away his wife and children. He denied it and said that a man might be sent to see When I reported this to the Governor, he answered, 'I would have burnt his beard [1] off if he had sent his people away.' I told Parasurâma

[1] Hindus only wear beards on such temporary occasions as mourning or during their wives' pregnancy. The threat was therefore of small significance. Could Dupleix have been thinking of the respect with which Muhammadans regard their beards?

Pillai, and he said that he would lose his head if he had done so. The Governor then said, 'I know well that your people never left your house. But when I heard that the St. Paul's priests had removed the cross, doors and windows from their churches at Olukarai and Ariyânkuppam, I sent for and warned them somewhat angrily. So they made excuses as they always do. All know that they are liars.' I then reminded him of their numberless false charges against me. He said, 'How many things have they said against me! Whom do they not accuse? In Europe if you asked even a child, he would tell you that the St. Paul's priests were the fathers of lies.' I then took occasion to say, 'The Brâhmans of the town are no use to anybody; and besides their worrying people, they cause disturbances in the town.' He said, 'You are right. If you can somehow drive the Brâhmans out of the town, I shall be extremely pleased.' I said that I had long meant to speak about it; but he told me to get rid of them anyhow, and then went to Madame's chamber.

I and Parasurâma Pillai left, and I said to him, 'I told you only yesterday, that, if any of your women left your house, people would say that you were the cause of the town being deserted; and advised you to give no room for such complaints; but you did not believe me. What you have done has made people talk and caused the Governor to ask questions. You had best be careful in future.' He replied that his sons never listened to his advice,

and proposed that Krishna Râo should be asked to tell Muttayya Pillai (as if of his own motion) what had happened. I said, 'As Krishna Râo is here on the verandah, we need not tell him; he will go and tell him without asking.' Krishna Râo agreed to do so, and both took their leave.

The Governor reminded me about getting from Tarwâdi a bill of exchange for 30,000 rupees payable at Madras. I promised to see about it and report the result; and he told me to be sure and get it.

He then asked whether paddy was being brought into the bazaars. I reminded him that yesterday was Sunday. He then asked if I had posted thirty-two dhooly-bearers at the different stages. I replied that they had set out at eight o'clock this morning. When he asked where they were posted, I replied, 'Eight bearers and one of Malayappan's peons at Potti Pattan's choultry at Âlambarai, and the same number at Kichi Nâyakkan's choultry beyond the Pâlâr, at Tiruppôrûr, and at a place midway between Madras and Tiruppôrûr, with instructions to be ready at any moment. I sent them off with a warning to tell no one whose men they were, but to say that they were wanderers or day-labourers.' He asked if a dhooly had been got ready according to his orders. I said it had.

I then showed him five or six of the fifty Carnatic guns.[1] He examined them, and told me to

[1] *Quere* match-locks.

find out if there was in store any shot that would fit them; and as cartridges would be of no use, he gave me an order for enough powder and shot to serve for twenty rounds each. I gave the order to Shaikh Ibrâhîm, telling him to get the powder and shot and give them to Venkata Nâyakkan to be distributed among the Carnatic peons.

I afterwards reported that I had received a letter saying that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Mahfuz Khân, Khair-ud-dîn Khân, 'Abd-ul-jalîl and others were encamped in the Vêttavalam jungles with 2,000 horse, and were cutting a way through, and that one day there had been a fight in which twenty of the jungle people and fifty of the Nawâb's people had been killed.

He asked how the disturbances at Trichinopoly had ended. I told him what I had heard as follows:—

Tondimân, the Maravan, the people of Tanjore, Mysore and others, joining together, mean to release Râmanayyan, Kônappayyan's son, who is in prison at Tanjore, and capture the fort of Trichinopoly. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Mahfuz Khân intend to march to Trichinopoly with some horse and foot, leaving behind them 'Abd-ul-jalîl, Khair-ud-dîn Khân and others, with a small body of troops, with orders to cut a way through the Vêttavalam jungles and not to march till they have destroyed the poligar, but then to move towards Trichinopoly.

'Zain-ud 'Alî Khân and Hukumat Râo have been to Vellore, and agreed with Srînivâsa Râo, Kânukôyi Krishnâji Pandit's son-in-law (who had fled there) for a lakh of rupees on condition of the complete restoration of his goods Thus Murtazâ 'Alî Khân has been pacified; but when he[1] was taken to Najîb-ul-lah Khân, the Nawâb's agent, and when his goods were handed over, he complained that some were missing. But Najîb-ul-lah Khân said that everything had been entered in the accounts, that he would deliver them according to the list, and that he knew nothing of what was said to be missing. So the matter is delayed, and I know not how it will end. As Anwar-ud-dîn Khân wrote to Sêsham Râjâ, the Poligar of Kârvêti-pâlaiyam, and other poligars, to join him with their forces, the former has reached Sholinghur with his troops. It is said that he is to remain there until Hukumat Râo, Sampâti Râo's younger brother, comes from Arcot to receive him, and that he will then enter Arcot. I know not whether he will go against the Vêttavalam jungles or accompany the Nawâb to Trichinopoly. Hukumat Râo is about to go to Sholinghur to receive Sêsham Râjâ.' I reported all this to the Governor, then went to the nut-godown, and thence came home at noon. [.]

Tuesday, August 13.[2]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked whether paddy

[1] Srînivâsa Râo.

[2] 1st *Âvani*, *Vibhava*. Vinson dates this 2nd Âvani = August 7, by some confusion.

was being brought into the bazaars. I said no, but added, 'I have bought 2,000 pagodas' worth of paddy for the Company from Muhammad Hasan, 'Abd-ul-jalîl Sâhib's amaldâr at Villupuram, at four and a half kalams,[1] and I shall send the money to-morrow.'

He then said that it was rumoured in Fort St. David that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had replied as follows to the letter which the English had written to him:—'As all my territories have suffered greatly, and the inhabitants are greatly distressed, and as everywhere there are disturbances, I cannot interfere in your affairs. The quarrel lies only between you and the French; you may deal with them as you please. It does not concern me.'[2]

I think Madame must have told him this, for he seems to believe it. But no one, however foolish, would write so. No one would betray his weakness thus; he would write haughtily, hoping to obtain something thereby. What has happened to make him write such a letter? Even if he is in great difficulties, he cannot have lost his pride; but the Governor, forgetting that the Nawâb rules this country, believes what his wife hears from the Fort St. David spies. Besides the people in the Fort would write secretly, and the answer would be kept

[1] I.e., per pagoda.

[2] Floyer's letter to Anwar-ud-dîn and the latter's answer are printed in *Country Correspondence*, 1748, pp. 51 and 55. The answer was not received till August 10/21.

secret. Even the people who live in the Fort would not learn about this, at all events for ten days or so; it could not be known so early as this. Moreover the letters we receive here are not known to the enemy. He can only believe this news if he believes that the townspeople here know what is in our letters. But he forgets all this. I have never seen or heard of such a man to believe whatever he hears. As he believes this, it is clear what he will do in other matters. As I always used to write, he is the sort of man who, if he heard that a bullock had calved, would merely order the calf to be put in the stall. All the townspeople are in great distress because they cannot complain against the injustice of his wife. The whole town trembles like the people of Êkachakrâpuram who had to offer human sacrifices day and night.[1] As the Governor is so clear-sighted, and as all mercy depends upon those who exercise authority, all pray God speedily to end these days of misery and bless them with happier times. They who lived in Êkachakrâpuram only had to sacrifice one man each day, and so all did not fly; but here is no such certainty, and each day seems an age long. God alone can protect them.

[1] The allusion is to a story in the *Mahâbhârata*. The town of Êkachakrâpuram was beset by a Râkshasa named Bhaka, who agreed to desist from his ravages if each household in turn sent him various kinds of food, two black bullocks and a man. When the Pândavas in their wanderings reached Êkachakrâpuram, they heard the story, and Bhîma, the second brother, went out to the Râkshasa's cave and slew him. See the *Mahâbhârata*, Âdi Parva, chapters 170 and 171.

But as it is my duty to answer suitably to his wishes, I did so.

He then said, 'The Fort St. David people have given up all hope of assistance from the Nawâb, and so they are covered with shame. They could only be more disgraced if the merchants of the town told them that it was not the time to fight, that they would be beaten if they did, and that they could no longer trust them or live under them. They have not only disgraced themselves, but made the people of the country despise them' I replied, 'Is this a lie? Their own merchants will say the same, and the English too will leave off fighting and make themselves a by-word.' I thus sang to his tune. No matter what he does, this is an unlucky time for the English and a good time for the French; the English will certainly be defeated, and the French will succeed. But I must marvel at the Governor's foolish short-sightedness. I therefore replied suitably.

Then I said, 'According to your orders I asked Tarwâdi for a bill of exchange for 30,000 rupees payable at Madras, but he says that he has no agent there.' He then asked if there was no one else in the town. I told him that there was no one else who would give a bill, for fear of loss by some unforeseen accident. He said that was true, and asked me to send for Tarwâdi. When he came, the Governor asked him if he could not give a bill of exchange payable at Madras. He said that he had no people

either at Mylapore or at Pulicat. When asked if he had any one at Conjeeveram, he replied that the amaldâr of Conjeeveram was his agent. The Governor then said that if he drew a bill on the amaldâr, M. Barthélemy could get the money sent from there. Turning to Tarwâdi, I said, 'You said you could give a bill on Conjeeveram. Since you have no agent at Madras, you can tie up and send money to be delivered there. It is not well for you to refuse what the Governor asks.' I thus hinted at the alarming events of yesterday, and told him that, if he refused, he would get into trouble. He then agreed to deliver the money at Madras at his own risk. I told the Governor that Tarwâdi had agreed, and that the money would be paid in four days or so. He was satisfied, and said that it mattered little if it were not paid for a week. He then went into his room and wrote an order on M. Guillard for the payment of 30,225 rupees on account of the bill for 30,000, the cost being reckoned at three-quarters per cent. He signed and gave it to Tarwâdi who went to M. Guillard.

Then M. Paradis came to talk with him. I went to the nut-godown and thence came home at noon.

Many of the townspeople have gone away by stealth; but the appearance of the European quarter makes me think that the Tamils are the more courageous—the alarm of the former at least makes me think so. But if our ships arrive soon, the English will not attack the town. All are saying

that God only can protect them ; He surely will. I believe that they will only pretend to attack this town, but in reality besiege Madras. They are sure to do so.

Wednesday, August 14.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and asked about the bill of exchange for 30,000 rupees which was drawn yesterday and which Tarwâdi promised to pay M. Barthélemy at Madras. I said that M. Guillard had it. He then sent for M. Guillard, asked him for the bill, and gave it to M. Boyelleau. He then asked on whom it was drawn. I said that it was drawn at eight days' sight on Mallûr Râmi Chetti who used to live there. At once he wrote a letter, and sent it with the bill to M. Barthélemy at Madras.

I then said, 'You ordered the huts at Irisirâmapâlaiyam near Kilinjakuppam to be removed, the ten or fifteen trees there to be cut down for the use of the Company, and the owners to be compensated so that they could build their huts somewhere else. Accordingly I have seen the cultivators and have persuaded them to agree. They have removed their huts, and I will ask the Arumpâtai to send men to-morrow to cut down the trees and carry them to Ariyânkuppam, and I will tell him to pay the value of the trees and compensation for the removal and rebuilding of the huts.' He ordered me to pay them accordingly. Then I went to the nut-godown.

[1] *2nd Âvani, Vibhava.*

I was told that the Governor wanted me again. When I went, M. du Bausset was complaining that part of his garden had been destroyed some time ago and the trees cut down, and that, though there were other gardens hard by which were untouched, the rest of his garden was now being destroyed. 'I suppose from this,' he said, 'that you are angry with me.'—'Why should you say that?' the Governor replied; 'Whose gardens have been untouched while yours has been destroyed?'—'Is my garden nearer than Ranga Pillai's and others opposite the Valudâvûr gate?' he asked.—'I gave the order,' the Governor said, 'because I thought it was nearer.' He said this before M. d' Auteuil and M. Auger who were there, and added that, as M. du Bausset felt ill-used, the matter should be inquired into, and orders passed if it was found that other gardens were nearer. I said that my garden had not been destroyed as it was more than three hundred toises[1] distant, but that whatever was necessary might be done if it obstructed the defence. The Governor then turned to M. Auger and M. d' Auteuil, and I think he said how envious some people were, and that he wished they would understand that he could not help it. He then turned to me and said, 'You need not do anything but cut off the top branches of the trees and pull down the entrance and the verandah that you built, and the

[1] The toise is rather over 2 yards.

place you use for pressing blue cloth. I will come and look at the place this afternoon.' I said it should be done, and then went to the nut-godown. Just then a man came from the toll-gate to tell me that a letter had been received from Bâhûr. It was eleven o'clock when he departed. I also heard that Madame Dupleix had ordered the letter to be brought to her, and made the bearer wait. I came home at twelve o'clock. It remains to be seen what will happen. [.]

Thursday, August 15.[1]—I went to the Governor this morning as soon as he returned from hearing mass. He asked what news there was. I said I had heard nothing important.

I then interpreted to him as follows Vakîl Subbayyan's letter written yesterday, Wednesday, the 14th :—'Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Sâhib Bahâdûr is encamped at Fattehpêttai[2] near Gingee, and Mahfuz Khân, Khair-ud-dîn Khân and others have surrounded the Vêttavalam jungles and are camped there. Pandâri Periya Ayyâ has a strong force there. It is said that the Muhammadans find their task difficult, that the sound of hot firing has been heard, and they are trying to clear the jungles. No English have come here yet. I only arrived here to-day.' When he heard this, he said, 'The spies at Fort St. David told me that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had replied to the English that he would

[1] 3rd Avani, Vibhava. [2] See above, p. 177.

consider their request in two or three months, as his territories were in confusion, as no arrangement could be made at once, and as he could not assist them for the present. Our vakîl arrived only after that letter had been written; everything must have been done before his arrival.' I considered within myself what answer I should make. It is not seemly to contradict him, and besides, that would require much explanation. If he asked me whether the brinjal would grow among rocks, I should reply that I had seen them in thousands of clusters and on creepers. So I now answered that what he said was true.[1] Then I went to the nut-godown. When I was coming home at noon, I heard that three English ships had sailed close in-shore, and at one o'clock that they had anchored opposite Vîrâmpattanam.

This news was reported to the Governor as he was dining at M. d' Auteuil's house by reason of its being Madame d' Auteuil's name-day; leaving his dinner, he at once rose and went upstairs, calling for a telescope. After watching the ships, he sent for the chief officers and ordered them to assemble all the Europeans on the sea-face and have the cannon ready.[2] He also sent for Shaikh Ibrâhîm

[1] The point of this remark is that the brinjal will not grow among rocks, its fruit grows singly and not in clusters, and it is a plant, not a creeper. Ranga Pillai is merely exemplifying the manner in which he agrees with everything the Governor says.

[2] This account varies in one or two details from that given by M. de Nazelle (*Defênse de Pondichéry*, p. 157) where Dupleix is said to have been dining at his own garden-house. All reference is there also omitted to the orders which would very naturally have to be given.

and ordered him to tell all the toll-gate people to allow none to leave the town. Instead of answering that none should be allowed out without the Governor's orders, he[1] inquired what should be done with persons producing one of my passes. He sent me word by Vajram that the Governor had ordered none to be allowed out even with passes; but nevertheless he went to the toll-gate people and directed them not to hinder those who produced a pass from me. He is asserting (it is said) that the Governor sent for him and ordered him to guard the roads well, that he patted him on the back, and promised that henceforward he should hold a position of authority. Never before had the Governor sent for him and given him direct orders; he used to give them through me. But as to-day the Governor sent for and spoke to him, he is as proud as if he had been set upon the throne of Delhi, and he has forgotten who he is. But he cannot be blamed; it is only natural for a man who used to stand at a distance with folded arms and serve for ten rupees to grow proud and forget his position when his master calls him and speaks to him. It is the Governor's fault for forgetting his dignity; and yet he is not to blame either, for he is by nature fickle-minded and incapable of fathoming the truth of things; moreover he has never lived among people who show gratitude for faithful

[1] I.e., Shaikh Ibrâhîm.

service. I can only blame myself for the regret that I feel. No one else is at fault. I think it must be due to my evil star.

I cannot describe the difficulty felt by the towns-people, by people returning after selling their fuel and straw, and by others who come in and out of the town. It would not be wise to write what confusion there is in the town or what the towns-people are saying. If the Governor himself was alarmed at the sight of the English ships, and forbade them to go in and out, what must be the alarm of the ignorant? If he summons the priests and arranges with them for a place of safety in the Mission Church opposite my house, what of the poor Tamils, ignorant of war? Some Europeans, hearing of this, have decided to leave their houses, and even advised me to leave mine and lodge west of the Muttirai Choultry; others lament that the Governor will not permit them to leave the town. If the Europeans are so alarmed as to speak thus, I need say nothing of the Tamils.

I sent for Lingappan who distributes the passes, and forbade him to give any. I then came home at eight o'clock at night. [.]

Friday, August 16.[1]—After I had gone to the nut-godown at seven o'clock this morning, Avây Sâhib, Imâm Sâhib's gumastah, came and asked why people were not being allowed to leave the

[1] *4th Âvani, Vibhava.*

bounds. I explained that the Governor had forbidden Tamils to leave the bounds, lest they should try to escape through fear of the English ships that anchored here yesterday. He replied:—'People want to go out to buy straw, grass and firewood; poor people need to go out every two or three days to buy paddy, as none can be had in the town; people have come in to change fanams for rupees, and others have brought goods to sell and wish to return—if all these are hindered from going out, there will be great alarm and people will be put to great difficulty. Besides, those who everyday bring grain and other things into the town will not come for fear of not being allowed to depart. Then we shall be able to buy nothing and the town will be starved. People would of course complain if the English besieged the town and reduced it to starvation; but they have not, and people will surely complain aloud if they are put to such difficulties as I have already mentioned. They will say that he is doing this either because he wishes to get rid of them and seize their property or because he is ignorant. Of a surety his people are happy if he governs them thus! Should not the commander be both bold and discreet in such troubled times, distinguishing between what should and what should not be done, keeping the people at ease, protecting them, and devising ways of overthrowing their enemies? Should he not also be strict, and experienced and firm? But although he lacks these

qualities, he is fortunate. That is why he won glory when Madras was taken by M. de La Bourdonnais—without whom it could never have been captured. In the last two years he has tried half a dozen times to capture Fort St. David (which is no bigger than a brinjal) even when there were no soldiers there ; but it has all been in vain. At last he himself marched against it, but retreated without even coming in sight of the bounds. Another time he sent, trusting to his wife's spies, but his people were beaten and shamed, only escaping because not ten of the English sallied forth, and because the French are fated to win glory. If he entrusts everything to his wife, and on her advice so governs as to make the whole town tremble, of course he wins glory and success! But as the spirit of fortune favours him, however blindly he may behave, some use is sure to be found even for the pieces of a cloth he has torn. You can only endure such a state of affairs by God's protection. He is ruining the town, and making of it a desert.' He also spoke of the Governor's ill-nature and his hindering the Company's affairs by his negligence.

As it was then half-past eight I went to the Governor's He asked if paddy was coming into the bazaars. I replied that only twenty bullock-loads had come in to-day. He then asked at what price it was selling. I said, ' It is only to-day that paddy has been received, and six days ago you

permitted them to sell at what price they liked. I cannot tell what the bazaar-price may be.' He then asked at what rate the price should be fixed. I told him that it was selling at six measures at Valudâvûr, and the price must cover its carriage to this place. Thereupon he ordered me to send for M. Delarche. Before he came, I told the Governor that two Pathans, Mamrêz Khân and 'Azmat Khân, whose ships sail from Covelong to the Tenasserim coast, and who took passes last year, had written to request new ones for this year in exchange for the old ones, which I showed him He called M. Boyelleau, gave him the old passes, and ordered him to write two new ones.

When M. Delarche came, the Governor asked him the same question about the paddy as he had put to me. His answers were the same as mine, and he suggested that the rate might be fixed at five small measures. When I asked if we should reduce the measures by two, M. Delarche said that it was only a matter of five or six days, that much paddy would come in if the merchants were allowed to sell it as they pleased, and that a price might afterwards be fixed if necessary. The Governor agreed, and turning to me said that that might be done, and told me to distribute among the coolies the twenty or thirty bullock-loads now received.

After this, M. Friell came, and all three began to speak of Madras affairs. M. Friell said that Coja Sattur from Fort St. David had told him

that the English ships recently arrived were short of men, and that they had fled on sighting twenty-two French ships. They were also saying that these had effected nothing by their attack on Mauritius and that our people had really captured five of their ships.[1] I was present all this while, and, when they all took leave and departed, I also took leave and went to the nut-godown.

At eleven o'clock to-day head-peon Muttu, a Palli, with twenty peons set out for Madras. I heard from passers-by that a Muhammadan boy and a Tamil had been seized and carried before the cruel woman. I shall find out who they are and write later.

At four o'clock this afternoon the Governor sent for me. When I was approaching his house, I heard that he had gone out in his palankin, watching the bazaar-people as he went along. So I went to the Madras gate, expecting him to return that way. He did so. On seeing me, he asked what had brought me there. I answered that he had sent for me. He thought for a moment, and, saying that he had not sent for me, walked on a little way.

[1] Boscawen appeared off Mauritius, June 23, and found no less than 14 vessels in harbour, fitted or fitting for sea. He could discover no suitable landing place, was ignorant of the French strength, and therefore abandoned the attempt, in order to make sure of reaching the Coromandal Coast before the monsoon. (Boscawen to Corbet, October 17, 1748. *P.R.O. Ad.* 1—160.) Grant, who was then residing on the island, says with all appearance of truth, that Boscawen exaggerated the French strength (Grant's Mauritius, p. 299). The capture of English ships is imaginary. The landing of wounded referred to below (p. 306) was a mere rumour arising out of the landing of sick men.

He then said, 'M. Law says that you have not 510 sepoys; why is that?' I replied that there could be no mistake, and gave an account of the 510 sepoys, —410 sepoys and 50 peons under Vîrâ Nâyakkan, and 50 match-lock people,—so that the number was right. 'Well,' he said, 'tell him so.' Accordingly, I went to the nut-godown and sent for Shaikh Ibrâhîm. Before the peon went to M. Law at the Fort to bring Shaikh Ibrâhîm, the latter came another way, and said, 'M. Law says that you should have 510 sepoys.' I explained that there were 410 who make 512 with Vîrâ Nâyakkan's people and the Carnatic match-lock people. As Shaikh Ibrâhîm said that M. Law had dismissed him saying that he would muster and count them to-morrow afternoon, I thought it unnecessary to go to M. Law and speak to him. Having dismissed Shaikh Ibrâhîm, I stayed at the nut-godown till nine o'clock and came home.

People say that some of the English ships set sail to-day, that some of the Europeans aboard the others were landed but then sent again on board, and that afterwards a thousand were again landed. Travellers report that twenty bazaar-people have been ordered to accompany the army when it marches. [.]

Sunday, August 18.[1]—When the Governor returned from church, I heard the following news:—

[1] *6th Âvani, Vibhava.*

Three boats left the English ships and rowed opposite Vîrâmpattanam, where they fastened two large stones to a plank with ropes on both sides, with a spar fixed in a hole in the plank, and a red flag on it; and so it was left. When a man from the batteries[1] reported this to the Governor, he, M. Paradis, and some others, went upstairs to look. The Governor thought that as the ships were lying in twelve fathoms of water, and the spot which they had marked with the flag was six fathoms, they had done this to show how near the shore ships and sloops might anchor safely. He therefore ordered M. Auger to send some boat-people and carry off the plank with its small flag. But the latter said that boat-people, catamaran-men and coolies could not be sent at once, as the English boat-people were still near the plank, but that he would have it removed this evening. The Governor ordered him to do so.

He then sent for me and asked if paddy was coming into the bazaars. I told him that ten bullock-loads of paddy and eleven of rice had been brought in, that poor people were going out and buying four or six fanams' worth of paddy and that baskets of rice were to be bought in the town without trouble.

He then said, 'How is it that the Marathas have not appeared as expected? Chandâ Sâhib too has

[1] Reading *Kottalakkâran* for *Kottakaikkâran*.

not come. Have Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Mahfuz Khân not gone to Trichinopoly? Has not Murtazâ 'Alî Khân captured Arcot? And we hear nothing about the plan of the people of Tanjore and Mysore, of Tondimân, the Maravan, Râmanayyan and others against Trichinopoly.' When he questioned me about these matters, I replied, 'Chandâ Sâhib is detained on the other side of the Kistna as the river is full, and he cannot yet cross. Murtazâ 'Alî Khân is doing nothing at Vellore, as Zain-ud-'Alî Khân has come to terms with him. He can only collect supplies, and take the fort when the Trichinopoly affair has been settled. Mahfuz Khân and those encamped in the Vêttavalam jungles can only march to Trichinopoly after finishing the affair of the Râjâ of Vêttavalam.' After hearing me, he went into Madame's room and I went to the nut-godown.

He sent for me at half-past eleven and asked if I had heard the rumour that Mahfuz Khân had been made prisoner. I said I had not and added that, if Pandâri of Vêttavalam had made Mahfuz Khân prisoner, the news would have been known here by this time and that therefore it must be untrue. He replied that I did not get reliable news and went to Madame; then, coming back, he said that the Pandâri's people went and captured Mahfuz Khân when he was in a temple at Tirukkôyilûr. I answered, 'A relation of 'Abd-ul-jalîl was seized and made to eat pork. That is why Nawâb

Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and others marched with their forces and encamped there. The man was seized twenty-five days ago.' He then returned to tell this to Madame, and came back.

Just then Coja Sultân came to ask permission to bring in four bullock-loads of rice that had arrived from Arcot. The Governor asked how many days they had been on the road. When he heard they had been four days, he turned to me and asked why I said that it took twelve or thirteen days to come from Lâlâpêttai. I replied that it would take twelve days even if they moved fast, but fifteen days if they went slowly. By God's grace Coja Sultân told the Governor that his goods took twelve days to reach Lâlâpêttai, so the Governor went away quietly. I came home when it was past twelve.

The Europeans of the four companies have been supplied with new coats. To-day, they were mustered in their new clothing, and marched by the Villiyanallûr gate out to M. du Bausset's garden on the way to Ariyânkuppam. As each company had a different colour, they looked fine. The European troopers had green coats with red facings[1] and button-holes; so they also looked well. At five o'clock I went to see this sight, and thence went at six o'clock to the nut-godown. There Râmachandra Ayyan, who is employed at the beach, came and

[1] In the original 'paramâm,' i.e. 'parement.'

said :—' According to the Governor's orders of this morning, we carried off the English buoy and showed it to the Governor, who ordered 9 pagodas to be given to the boat-people. He asked in how much water it had been moored, and we told him that it had been in six fathoms, midway between the ships and the shore. When we were coming away, we met Madame who asked what we were doing with the plank and the flag. I told her the story from beginning to end. She then ordered the little flag (it is only a cubit long) to be hoisted below the French flag on the rampart. She abused you much, saying that you plundered the town, blinded her husband by giving him the booty, and were doing whatever you pleased. She thus sang her old song, but added that she had told the whole matter to her husband, saying that this and that should be done. But he (it seems) answered that you would never act wrongly, and explained everything.' I dismissed him saying politely that Madame was my mother and the Governor my father, and that I rejoiced in whatever they did. This is what happened [ ].

Tuesday, August 20.[1]—When I went to M. Law's house this morning to talk to him, he mentioned the list I had made out in order to divide the sepoys at the town gates into six companies, and desired me to give a list accordingly to Shaikh Ibrâhîm.

[1] *8th Âvani, Vibhava.*

I said that I would do so, thinking it the wrong time to dispute the point, and that it could be done at some other time. After talking with him about other matters, I went to the Governor's.

I reminded him of Mahfuz Khân's letter that was received yesterday, asking for a hundred maunds of powder, fifty maunds of lead and some cannon called [Royals ?] which he had said should be got ready and sent to-day. Thereon he sent for M. Burel,[1] the gunner, and ordered him to get the powder ready. The latter said that bags would be needed. He asked how many, and, on learning that a hundred would be wanted, he ordered me to supply them. I said I would do so and went to the nut-godown.

I heard in the street that a messenger had brought a letter from Mahé. The Brâhman messengers say: 'On account of the heavy rains, the ships did not anchor in the roads, but lay out at sea and fired their guns. When these were heard, catamarans were sent out to fetch the letters. They ordered us to start at once, and we have come accordingly. We saw only one ship out at sea. It was said that there were two more, but we do not know about that.'

When we were thus talking, a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. As soon as I

[1] The master gunner at Pondichery. He died 1750 (*Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, September 20, 1750. *Archives des Colonies*).

went to him, he said, 'Here, Ranga Pillai, the English ships touched at Mauritius on their way, and attacked it. Our people captured five ships, and the rest, unable to defend themselves, took to flight. That is why our ships were delayed in sailing. A ship has been sent to Mahé with this news. When the ships arrived some time back at Fort St. David, we heard that there had been a battle between the French and the English, that five English ships had been taken, and that they were landing wounded men. The news then was true.' So saying, he told me to inform the merchants and others in a fitting manner. I said I would do so, and went to the nut-godown. I sent word of the expected ships to the merchants and others, including Chandâ Sâhib's and Mîr Ghulâm Husain's houses.

He sent for me again at eleven o'clock and said, 'The English at Tellicherry will inform the Fort St. David merchants of the arrival of our ships. So post peons at the proper places to intercept and bring the letters in.' When I was about to leave, having said I would do so, he added that I was to promise them 100 pagodas if they were watchful and secured the letters. Immediately going to the nut-godown, I sent Venkatapati Nâyakkan, commandant of the Carnatic peons, with twenty peons, the Brâhman Guruvayyan who knows the Mahé road, and a Vaishnava Brâhman. I arranged that the peons should receive batta at one fanam [a

day ?] each for twenty days and Venkata Nâyakkan at two fanams ; and for this purpose I got forty-eight rupees from Saravanan, son of Mudippiri Muttukumara Pillai's elder brother, and gave them to Venkatapati Nâyakkan. I also got twenty rupees and gave them to the two Brâhmans. I encouraged them by telling them of the Governor's promise to give them 100 pagodas if they succeeded in intercepting the letters, and ordered them to lie in wait between Âttûr and Salem, explaining by what means they could seize the letters from Tellicherry to Fort St. David. I then went to the Governor and reported this. As I was leaving, I told him that, according to his orders, the broadcloth, which had been issued to the Company's merchants and which had not been entered in the accounts, had been returned on account of the troubles. He told me it was to be delivered to M. Cornet at the Fort. I said I would do so when I had examined it; and then went to the nut-godown.

This afternoon Madame reported to the Governor the following news which she had learnt from head-peon Malayappan's peons and the sepoys posted near Alisapâkkam :—Some twenty or thirty troopers from the English camp at Parayan Choultry, this side of Marikrishnâpuram, advanced as far as Alisapâkkam; Malayappan's peons fired a signal shot ; and as soon as the troopers heard the report, they fled.

Thereon the Governor ordered European and Muhammadan troopers and 300 sepoys under 'Abd-ul-rahmân to march to Ariyânkuppam and Alisapâkkam. He rode out to Ariyânkuppam at three o'clock and returned at six o'clock. This is what happened to-day.

At eight o'clock, he sent for me, and asked if I had got the dhooli that he had ordered to be made by fastening poles to a light palankin, to go to Madras halting at certain places. I said that I had. He then went on to the verandah and sat down there. As there was nothing important, I came home.

Moreover at five o'clock to-day the cannon on the sea-wall south-east of the fort were fired, in order to clear them of the old powder and shot with which they had been loaded, and to test their range. As soon as the townspeople heard the report, they all left their houses and ran to the beach, and only returned when they understood what it was.

A poligar's peon, stationed on the Madras road, came and told me that Gôvindarâman and his younger brother, Ânandan, customs-people on the Madras road, had been letting Kômuttis, Chettis and their women pass on payment of a bribe, through Muttu Chetti (Tyâgappa Chetti's younger brother), thus taking advantage of the Governor's orders that my tickets were not needed. I asked him to write down what had happened these last three or four days and bring it to me.

Wednesday, August 21.[1]—This morning Avây Sâhib came to me and said, 'When I formerly requested you to explain my business to the Governor and get it settled, in order that I might return home, you spoke to him accordingly, but (you told me) he said that he had no money to spare then. As you are indisposed to help me, I have written a short petition in French, and I wish to present it. It does not matter whether he provides us with all the goods for the marriage entered in the list that was written, or whether I have to depart without getting anything. We had intended to remove our goods from Madras to Arcot when the Sâhib's son left Madras for Arcot; but you wrote that as we had left the goods at Madras when it was possessed by the English, we should not remove them to Arcot as soon as it passed into the power of the French. Since we regard Imâm Sâhib and the French as one, we left there 4,000 or 5,000 rupees' worth of goods, thinking that the Governor would get angry if we removed them. It is not right of the Governor now to refuse to deliver them to us. If we had trusted you, and left the Sâhib's son with our goods at Madras, I think that not only they would have been seized but he himself would not have been allowed to depart. Now if my French petition is presented, and the Governor orders me to depart, I will

[1] 9th *Âvani, Vibhava.*

depart at once.' Thinking it useless to say much about the matter, I told him to await his opportunity and present the petition. Then I went to the nut-godown.

As soon as I had sat down there, a peon came and said that I was wanted by the Governor. When I went, he asked if any bags had been obtained. I replied that only twenty bags were ready, but that I was trying to get the rest. He said that thirty bags would be enough.

Then a trooper arrived from our camp at Ariyânkuppam, saying that an English force, consisting of Carnatic people and 200 European troopers, had come up, that their infantry had attacked ours, and that they were marching this way in great numbers. The Governor called me at once, and said he was surprised that the poligars' peons who had been encamped at Parayan Choultry should have attacked our people. I replied that if only our people fought with courage, the poligars' sepoys as well as Malrâjâ's and Kalyânarâjâ's people would retreat to Fort St. David, or desert into the country with their muskets The Governor agreed, and said that if they had been Europeans it would have been serious, but that, as they were only a crowd of Carnatic people, they would desert with their arms.

Then M. Paradis arrived, and he and the Governor went talking together into Madame's room. I came out and sat down in the hall. Just

then a Topass horse-keeper of the Governor's came and gave him a letter from Ariyânkuppam. As soon as he had read it, he called me and said, 'I hear that the English have hoisted their flag at Singarikôyil. Where is that?' I replied that it was near Alisapâkkam, and that he had visited the place. Then Madame came and said, 'Don't you know Singarikôyil?' I went towards M. Paradis who was standing there. He turned to me saying, 'See what Madame's authority is!' I answered, 'I don't know.'

At twelve o'clock news arrived that our people had retreated this side of the Chunâmbâr and that the English were advancing in great force. Thereupon the Governor ordered food to be brought at once, intending to go thither as soon as he had eaten something. He called me, and told me to send bazaar-men with rice out to Ariyânkuppam. I said that they needed an advance of 200 rupees. He ordered me to pay and send them. At once I sent for Alagappa Mudali of the Choultry, informed him of the Governor's orders, took 200 rupees from Parasurâma Pillai for the merchants' advance, and asked him to send Ellâr's bazaar, Annapûrni's and some more. Alagappa Mudali departed, saying that he would send them at once.

News came in that a sloop and a ship were sailing hither from Fort St. David. The Governor and M. Paradis went upstairs to see. I waited till then at the nut-godown and came home at about one o'clock.

At two o'clock this afternoon the Governor sent for me. A letter had arrived from Vakîl Subbayyan who is with Mahfuz Khân's camp at Gingee and Vêttavalam. It said :—'A Shaikh, who serves as the English vakîl, presented a letter from the Governor of Fort St. David to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, stating that twenty-six ships had arrived and that twelve more were coming, that they proposed to march against Pondichery on the 19th of this month, and, after taking it, to capture Madras also, that they had received 12,000 soldiers, and that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân should render them all assistance according to Nâsîr Jang's parwâna.[1] But Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has slighted this letter and replied that he cannot help them at present. These things are being done by means of Husam Sâhib, without Mahfuz Khân's knowledge.' I reported this and also the news of the Marathas' advance and Chandâ Sâhib's coming. He replied that he had already heard this. I suppose that Madanânda Pandit must have told Madame who, in turn, has reported it before me. As people say, 'If you want a man who would rape his own mother, go to Madanânda Pandit.' One cannot expect better conduct from him. He treacherously pretends to work in my favour, but really he is digging pits for me. He has been reporting all that happens here to Tânappa Mudali and Madame, exaggerating it fourfold, for the sake of

[1] The report of this letter is inexact. See *Country Correspondence* 1748, pp. 48 and 51. Anwar-ud-din's answer is at p. 55, *ibid.*

pleasing them. I do not know how God can protect him.

Afterwards the Governor said to me, 'Ranga Pillai, Râman, the man who is employed at the beach, begged me to allow his wife (who is with child) to go out with one or two more. He said that he would not send any goods. But I told him that they could not go, and that I should send orders to the bounds to let no one pass. See that no one goes out.' So saying, he told his chobdar to fetch Shaikh Ibrâhîm. I made no reply, but asked whether the powder and lead should not be sent to Mahfuz Khân. He told me to write that powder and shot would be sent as requested. I wrote and sent the letter accordingly. I also wrote to the vakîl.

I then said that the passports might be sent, as requested, to Mamrêz Khân and 'Azmat Khân, whose ships sail from Covelong to Tenasserim. I added that I would get a sealed pass for the letters to Mahfuz Khân and to the Covelong people. When I said this, he himself went and gave me a sealed pass. The letters were despatched this evening.

He sent for me a little while after, and told me not to go away as he often wanted me. So I sat down. He came and asked if I could not tell Chandâ Sâhib's wife to write to the English. I said that it could be done, and asked what I should write. He told me to ask her to write as follows:—'How can you attack this town when I am here? Do you not know that my husband is coming with a Maratha army? If

you attack this town, consider what my husband will do when he comes; consider beforehand; then you will know what to expect.' He thought that such a letter would alarm them. But I reflected that though such a clever man could not but succeed, yet, no matter how clever a man might be, there was still that greater thing, the nectar of help, which is also called 'good fortune' or 'the favour of God.' So I answered, 'This is not the best time to write such a letter, and we should wait for another occasion.' He listened to what I said, but remained silent. I think I ought not to write much in comment upon what he says, however surprising it may be.

Dropping this matter, he said again, 'Send ten peons in disguise, so that none may know them, to set fire to the Muhammadan villages in which the English are encamped.' I replied that I would do so, but that the villagers should be given compensation as they were poor people. He said that it might be given. I then sent for Malayappan's peons, and ordered them to set fire to all the villages in which the English had set foot, that is to say, to set fire to some ten huts at each of the following:—Singarikôyil, Kîlalinjipattu, Mêlalinjipattu, Bâhûr, Karukkalâmpâkkam, Kirumâmpâkkam and other villages near by. I promised 10 rupees to whoever did this.

He came to me again, and, giving me two Maratha letters sent by M. Barthélemy, asked me to interpret them. They are written by a Brâhman Visâsi Raghunâtha Pandit, a servant of Fatteh Singh

Bhônsla, to 'Abbâs Khân, and they were as follows :—' You sent Shaikh 'Abd-ul-nabî on a certain matter with a letter for Fatteh Singh at Satâra. We went with him as far as Sâvanûr, but there he left us and rejoined you, by way of Mysore. We went by way of Arcot to Mylapore and stayed there five days, but being unable by inquiries to learn your whereabouts, we therefore proceeded to Kumbakônam, and now send people to you to inform you of this. Please inform us where you are and how we can reach you. The great man whom you spoke to made us travel 100 leagues for nothing and we have been put to great difficulty. But that matters nothing, if you will send some one with our messenger so that we may come and see you. Then you will learn everything. I have borrowed 100 rupees for our maintenance and can set out only when my debts are paid. You, Sir, ordered me to travel to a strange place. My master honoured you and sent me to you with some messengers [?] on account of your letter to him: your business may be duly settled when I return to him. There is still much to do. If you reply soon, I will set out and come to you. What should I write more ?"[1] I interpreted this as written above. The Governor said, 'You had better keep the letters with you. The Brâhman will come, and you must inquire about it.' So saying, he returned to Madame's room. I went

[1] The Tamil of this letter is ambiguous and the interpretation uncertain.

out and sat down in the verandah where I generally sit.

Just then M. Cornet came. The Governor having talked with him, came out and asked me how many candies of cotton were in stock. As I remembered the merchants had said there were twenty-three, I said there were about twenty-five. He told me to deliver them to M. Cornet, and I said I would do so.

He then asked if I had delivered the Company's broadcloth to M. Cornet. I explained that I could do so only after examining [?] it. He asked if the bales had been opened. I replied that M. Cornet had opened them before issuing them at the Fort.

He said that paddy was coming in from Villupuram and told me to procure some from the northward. I said I would do so. He then told me to see how much had been sent and to send for the remainder. I said I had already sent word this afternoon.

He went in again, and then, coming back, said, 'Why are the English giving so much trouble?' I replied, 'You yourself said that, as they had received orders from Europe to attack us, they would be hanged if they did not. You also said that Griffin and other former commanders would be severely blamed for not having fought, and for not having pursued and captured the eight ships which remained at anchor twelve hours after their arrival

He who has now come, must therefore do his best. He is now pretending to attack us so that he may excuse himself by saying that we were too strong for him. If in the meantime your ships arrive, he will probably go to Bengal.'—'True,' he said, 'that is sure to happen. Tell the merchants and Chandâ Sâhib's and Mîr Ghulâm Husain's people that they need not fear the enemy's cannon, and they can find plenty of shelter in the town if the English bombard us.' I said I would tell them so.

He again asked whether the Nawâb would help the English. I said, 'You know Mahfuz Khân's mind. He is on your side. Muhammad 'Alî Khân who is on their side is at Trichinopoly. But the old man cares nothing for other people, and wishes only to take care of himself. Your good fortune terrifies the subahdar and makes cowards of your enemies; as they are destined to defeat and you to victory, they will be powerless in spite of all their skill; and he who is destined to success will be called great in spite of all his weakness. This is well known to you. What did M. de La Bourdonnais get by his fighting? He killed two of the enemy; but who died of the French? Did he even fight for fifteen or twenty days until they had no provisions left? But Mr. Morse lost his wits as soon as ten shells had fallen, and in great alarm insisted on delivering up the Fort; and now that he is accused, he is trying to make friends by means of his wife with the new commander in order to

escape blame. You know this. What more need I say?'—He answered, 'As you say, did he hold Madras till no longer able to defend it? It was surrendered because M. de La Bourdonnais and Mr. Morse had secret dealings; for the capture of a place like Madras is no joke. Their materials of war and provisions would have lasted a ten years' siege.'

Just then M. Paradis came in. They went inside to talk. Presently he called his palankin, and, as he was about to go out, he turned to me and said, 'Send word to all the posts on the roads to let neither men nor cattle pass to-morrow except those sent to fetch paddy.' So saying, he went out.

I then went to the nut-godown and sent word about the Governor's orders to the town-gates and the toll-gates. I gave the passes, that had been prepared for 'Azmat Khân and Mamrêz Khân of Covelong, to their people together with a letter and told them to accompany the letter that was going to Subbayyan, the vakîl with Mahfuz Khân.

As I was calling for tea, Peddu Nâyakkan came and said, 'M. Boyelleau demanded 100 rupees on account of the passports for 'Azmat Khân and Mamrêz Khân of Covelong. But when I explained that you had asked me to speak to him about it, he accepted ninety rupees. I told Madanânda Pandit that I had brought the balance of ten rupees but he permitted me to keep it.' I told him he might do so. For these two passports, Madanânda Pandit received from 'Azmat Khân and Mamrêz.

Khân's people 60 star pagodas, 30 for each passport. At the rate of 345 rupees for 100 pagodas, 60 pagodas amount to 207 rupees. Of this, he has given 90 rupees to M. Boyelleau, and 10 to Peddu Nâyakkan, and kept the remaining 107. Besides, Madurai who was given ten pagodas to get these passports has received ten rupees more for himself. Although I knew all this, I spoke as though I knew nothing, that I may accuse him to the Governor when an occasion offers. I have a short statement about this from those who came for the passports. Nor is this all. I can now make him confess that he stopped the business when the Company demanded money of 'Alî Naqî Sâhib. I can put a rope round his neck whenever I please. Not only can I drive him out of the town, but also get him severely punished. There is still more. He received 500 rupees for secretly helping to send out Badê Sâhib's goods. While he has been gaining thousands, I have been bearing all with patience; but since he wants to ruin me, I desire now to accuse him and have him banished; but I do not know what God will put in my mind to-morrow.

At five o'clock, an English boat came to take soundings near the shore. A shot was fired but it missed.

Thursday, August 22.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and said, 'I am going to send my

[1] *10th Âvani, Vibhava.*

wife and children to the Padres' Church opposite your house. So send the 25 candies of cotton which I ordered to be taken there yesterday.' So he sent for M. Cornet and ordered him to give a receipt for 25 candies of cotton bought for the Company at twenty-six [pagodas?] per candy. I asked M. Cornet to send a man to weigh the cotton. He asked the Governor about it, but the latter said, 'There is no need. Will Rangappan lie to us? Give a receipt for 25 candies of cotton.' He then turned to me and asked how many bags it made. I replied, 'It was not baled at Surat, but was baled and received here and the merchants say that there are 103 bags.' Accordingly M. Cornet gave me a receipt acknowledging the receipt of 25 candies of cotton at the price named by M. Dupleix. I gave the receipt to Râmakrishna Chetti, and sent two of the Company's peons with him to take the cotton to the Mission Church. The 103 bags were counted and delivered accordingly, and I hear that they have been placed on the roof of the church.

Besides, he ordered me to proclaim by beat of tom-tom that every house should be furnished with thirty or forty pots of water and that any one failing to do so would be liable to a fine. He also told me to order the Nayinâr to keep a good look-out. I sent for the tom-tom man and ordered him to proclaim that each house must have at least thirty pots of water,—if more, so much the better—and

that whoever failed to do so would receive fifty stripes, lose his ears, and have his goods given to the poor, according to the Governor's orders. It was accordingly proclaimed. I then sent for Periyanna Nayinâr and Vîrâ Nâyakkan and said, 'The Governor says he will have you hanged if you do not post a hundred peons to keep order in the town.' They said that the peons must be given more pay. I replied that formerly the Company had paid them extra money, and that I would speak to the Governor about it, but that there must be plenty of men to watch the town. They said they would obey, and departed.

When I was about to go to the nut-godown, the Governor said, 'Where are you going to? Stay here and let people come here for their orders.' So saying, he went in; but, coming back, said, 'I cannot remain here and be always sending for people to give them their orders; so I am going to stay in the Fort; you must be with me there day and night.' I said I would do so.

Repeated messages came that ships were coming up under full sail; so he went with M. Paradis to the bastion on the sea-wall to watch the ships. Then he returned to remove goods from his house. He sent everything to the Mission Church, even cots and mattresses, for the use of his wife and children who are to live there.

Then Tarwâdi came to ask for his money, as it was fifteen days since the receipt of Mijnheer

Vermont's letter from Negapatam. The Governor thought that he had come for the 10,000 rupees and his premium of 450 rupees for the bill of exchange sent to Masulipatam but not yet paid. He called me and asked why I had not settled the rate of exchange and got the money from M. Guillard to pay the bill. I replied, 'I did not speak to you about it because you were busy, but proposed first three-quarters and then one and a quarter per cent for the exchange of Pondichery into Bunder rupees. I will write out an order for the money at the latter rate and bring it to you.' He said that that rate must be paid if it was the rate at Bunder. I answered, 'Tarwâdi refused to accept it at first; but I explained to him that he would make you angry and that I would make it up to him later on. But he still said that his master would be angry if he drew such a bill.' Then he called M. Guillard and asked him to write an order for him to sign. I entered the total of the bill as 10,375 rupees to be paid to Tarwâdi, and sent it to M. Guillard by my writer Elaichiyappan. I received 10,350 rupees, took a receipt from Tarwâdi for 10,000 rupees (the amount of this bill), kept the 10,000 rupees in payment of the money which I had advanced him when he insisted on it, and gave him 350 rupees. He asked me to return him his receipt for what I had advanced. I said that I had left it at home, but that I would send it. He continued, 'I might have asked you to produce the receipt before I settled

the matter by signing the bill. But I made no difference between you and myself, and signed the bill expecting you to give me my receipt. As you have been repaid, you should not detain my receipt.' I replied, 'You insisted on being paid as soon as you drew the bill payable at Bunder. So I myself paid you, and it was due from the Company to me. You have gained a trifle by the premium, but I have not asked you for a share because I value your friendship. I will send the receipt to-night.' Thus justifying myself, I dismissed him. He requested me to ask the Governor to pay the Negapatam bill of exchange. But I told him that I could not do so in such a time of confusion, but that I would see about it to-morrow.

Then M. Dulaurens sent Kommana Mudali's son and Chinnayya Chetti for twenty or thirty bags of cotton. But I said, 'Can cotton be got when all is in confusion? All that there was has been taken to the Mission Church and placed on the roof by the Coffrees. The Company's merchants have none left, but perhaps the cotton merchants have some.' So I dismissed them.

The Governor inquired whether I had asked Chandâ Sâhib's son to write to the Governor of Fort St. David, as he had proposed yesterday. I said, 'When I suggested yesterday that that need not be done at present, you agreed, so I did nothing; we had best wait and see what happens.' He answered sharply that it was not so, and the letter must be

written at once. Thinking that he would be angry if I contradicted him, I went to the nut-godown at about half-past eleven, and having sent for Râjô Pandit, Chandâ Sâhib's writer, I told him to write a letter to the Governor of Fort St. David, in the name of his master, Chandâ Sâhib's son. 'What shall I write?' he asked. I told him to write as follows:—'You know that Nawâb Dôst 'Alî Khân's family and others—fifty persons in all—are living in this town, but I hear that you are about to attack it. If you desist, it is well; but otherwise, you must have heard that Chandâ Sâhib, my father, is coming with 80,000 horse, and you will eat the fruit of your actions. You should behave so as to avoid this.' On this, he smiled and answered, 'If we write so, they may reply that we did nothing to the French for capturing Madras when Nawâb Dôst 'Alî Khân's son was there, and it is the same now; or else they may tell us to do what we like, as they have made ready; or again they may say that, if we fear, we should leave the town. How can we answer them? They will believe that we have written out of fear. Indeed, your words terrify me. My mistresses assuredly will say they are princesses and cannot appear publicly like women of other races, that they cannot run into the street if cannon-balls strike their quarters, and that they must therefore depart at once. Is it not out of fear that your Governor has sent his wife to the church near your house, and covered it with 25 candies of

wet cotton? But what house or what cotton have we? If he would show but a thousandth part of this pity towards the people, he might save them all.' In reply, I explained the whole matter to him, and asked him to write and bring the letter. He took leave saying that he would tell his master and mistress and bring a letter for the Governor of Fort St. David.[1]

Between twelve and one o'clock to-day, thirteen or fourteen English ships anchored off Vîrâmpattanam, and at once the commander of the ships already here saluted the English Admiral's arrival with nine guns. Up till now twenty-two ships, great and small, have arrived.

The English who yesterday hoisted their flag at Singarikôyil, struck it and retreated. Of our people, only two hundred sepoys remained in the camp at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry, and the rest withdrew to Ariyânkuppam. But this morning the English attacked the two hundred sepoys with 2,000 or 3,000 musketeers and eight guns, and were repulsed. Again they attacked fiercely from two o'clock to half-past five. In this time they thrice approached our camp to enter it, but thrice did our people drive them back with their grenades and muskets, so the enemy retreated. If only the Europeans and the

[1] Muhammad 'Alî, Chandâ Sâhib's brother, had already written to the English on the subject. Apparently Dôst 'Alî Khân's widow and Razâ Sâhib wrote to the English also Their letters are omitted from the *Country Correspondence*, 1748, but Floyer's answer, dated August 14/25, is given (*Country Correspondence*, 1748, pp. 54 and 57).

sepoys at Ariyânkuppam had gone to their assistance, they would have driven the Fort St. David army back into Fort St. David. But neither assistance nor provisions were sent, because the people were to withdraw to Ariyânkuppam; and they feared that their small supplies of powder and shot would be exhausted. So they retired from Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry. But when they were half-across the river on the way to Ariyânkuppam, the English with three or four thousand men, rallied and poured a storm of bullets into them. Fifteen were wounded and three killed. It is said that as the English attacked our camp thrice and were driven off by our fire, they must have lost many killed and wounded. As they were numerous, I reckon that about a hundred were killed and two hundred wounded. People speak of five or six hundred or even a thousand being mortally wounded. I think I have written too small a number, but time will show.[1]

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[1] The *Relation du siège* says that the French sepoys were wavering under the English attack and would have been cut to pieces but for a body of horse and foot sent forward by La Tour to cover their retreat. It sets the English losses at 100 sepoys and an artillery officer killed. (*Collection Historique*, pp. 242, etc.) The letter from Dupleix to the Company of August 28, 1748 (*Archives des Colonies*) shows that on the English side none but sepoys were engaged in this skirmish. Clive observes of them, 'Sepoys, or rather peons, for they knew little of discipline' (*O I*, i. 112). Boscawen briefly describes the action as follows :—'On the 11th [O.S.] they [the French] made a show of about 300 foot and some horse at an entrenchment they had thrown up; which they presently abandoned on our people's advancing towards them.' (Boscawen to Corbet, October 17, 1748. *P.R.O.* Ad. 1–160.)

Then the English army occupied Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry, and ours was at Ariyânkuppam. At half-past five this evening, a black and white flag was hoisted as a signal for the recall of those beyond Ariyânkuppam; some occupied the toll-gate there, and the rest took post in the Fort.

The Governor and M. Paradis drove out together, and, after their return, when they were talking together upstairs, the Governor sent for me. When I went, M. Friell, M. Duquesne, M. Paradis and M. Guillard were there. Then 'Abd-ul-rahmân came to report what had happened in the fight at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry. He said that if he were given 500 sepoys, he would drive the English back to Fort St. David. The Governor at once answered that it was useless, as the sepoys at the camp had retired to Ariyânkuppam. He then asked half a dozen times for permission to go to see his younger brother and others; but the Governor again said that he could not go, and told him that all would return here. Subahdar 'Abd-ul-rahmân had brought with him a cannon-ball fired by the enemy. While he related all that had happened, the Governor and the rest listened to him with laughter; but there were a thousand signs in the Governor's face and language to betray his inward alarm.

M. Paradis did not approve of the Governor's orders. When they were talking together, M. Friell called me and said, 'Can you not speak to the

Governor? Of what service are the poor people here with their women and children? If they are told to go away, there will be fewer mouths to feed and the defence will be easier. But the Governor does not see this; you should speak to him.' I answered, 'If you councillors do not care to speak to him, what can I say? It is your place to speak,' and I paid him suitable compliments. He replied, 'This is not our affair but yours. As you are chief of the Tamils,[1] it is your duty to speak to him.' I said, 'It is not my duty to speak in this case only; I have in all things said what I could.' He at once rejoined, 'Has not Madame advised him to do so?' I said that I knew nothing except what the Governor had told me. Hardly had I said this, when the Governor came up.

M. Friell said to M. Paradis that these people ought to be sent out of the town. As they were speaking together, the Governor called me and told me about the fight our sepoys had made. I replied that the English had behaved ill. He then told me to send people to the Muhammadan villages and to set fire to all the huts, and having gone downstairs he went in.

I went to the nut-godown and asked the merchants why they had detained the Company's goods which had not been entered in the accounts and which, by God's favour, arrived from Lâlâpêttai

[1] In his capacity of *Courtier.*

two days before the troubles. I told them to deliver these goods to M. Cornet and take back their receipt. I added that their carelessness would make them answerable for 25,000 pagodas' worth of goods if any accident befell them. They at once said that they would return them to-morrow. I dismissed them saying, 'If the goods are set on fire by a shell or stolen by somebody, the Governor will blame you if you keep them when everyone is carrying his goods to the Fort for fear of a siege. Do not give him a chance of saying this. Send the goods at once to M. Cornet' They agreed and departed.

I cannot write how anxious they were for me to get the Governor's permission to send away their children. I said plainly that the Governor would certainly not do so. Although they understood this, and knew that the town was in no danger, yet they forgot this in their fear, and said that their children would be frightened to death at the cannon-balls, and that as the town would be attacked on both sides like Madras, so also it was certain to be taken. I cannot say how frightened they are. If intelligent Europeans are alarmed, how can I describe the panic among the Tamils and the uneducated Europeans? God knows what fear reigns in the town; man can neither measure nor describe it.

All the European women have taken shelter in the church opposite my house and in the Tamils'

houses beyond it, for fear that the English ships should attack the town to-night with shot and shell. I do not write their names. I should do so if there were only five or ten ; but as all in the town have gone, why need I name them? So I simply say that all have gone.

Friday, August 23.[1]—About six o'clock this morning, the Governor sent for me and ordered the paddy, straw and so forth at Olukarai and the other out-villages to be brought into the town, or to be burnt if they could not be brought in, and the straw and paddy at the neighbouring Muhammadan villages to be brought in, if possible, or burnt. So I sent Periyanna Nayinâr with fifteen peons to Olukarai and the out-villages to announce the Governor's order. I also sent people to inquire if paddy and straw were to be had in Villiyanallûr, Perumbai and other places.

I hear that the English who yesterday occupied our camp at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry are bringing up their men and provisions, and establishing themselves there, intending to attack Pondichery after capturing Ariyânkuppam. They are busily bringing up to Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry the provisions landed from the ships at Vîrâmpattanam. It is also said that they intend to attack Ariyânkuppam to-morrow. Our people are bringing sepoys, soldiers and cannon to the landing-place on this side of the Ariyânkuppam river.

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[1] 11th *Avani, Vibhava.*

Saturday, August 24.[1]—At five o'clock this morning, the English army marched along the beach to seize the Padres' church at Ariyânkuppam. Their coming was like a swarm of ants. Our army occupied the whole bank on this side of the river opposite the Padres' church. They had mounted cannon on the two mud batteries near the river, with more cannon and grenadiers a little further down. Thence they poured a storm of bullets upon the English army. But the English, saying 'Let the dead see to themselves,' marched on over the fallen, and reached and occupied the Padres' church. M. de La Tour wrote to the Governor that they had lost 150 killed and wounded. But I think at least as many must have been mortally wounded. The commandant of the batteries[2] at Ariyânkuppam wrote that many English fell in their advance from the beach to the church, but that his fire could not touch them once they reached the church and Kanakarâya Mudali's garden behind it, as the shots only struck the trees and the church.

Soon after, a letter came from M. de La Tour, saying :—'The English have abandoned the church and returned. 'Alî Khân and the rest who were stationed on the ramparts at Ariyânkuppam drove off the English who came to reconnoitre. These English, and those who were in the Padres' church,

[1] 12th *Âvani, Vibhava.*

[2] Dancy was the officer in command of these batteries. (*Collection Historique*, p. 248.) They covered the fords across the river.

now occupy the Ayyanâr temple a little way off. We have taken seven cannon and some English prisoners.' One who had been wounded and another, an officer who was unhurt, were sent to Pondichery. On their arrival, Madame had both taken to her, as though she thought she was clever enough to learn the enemy's secrets. She then went to her husband, and told him to ask the Englishmen such and such questions. He was in a great state of confusion and alarm. Believing in his wife's cleverness at finding out secrets, and being credulous enough to order a bullock's calf to be tied up in the stall, he at once asked her to question them herself. At once a man with a pimpled face, named Inchiquin [?], being questioned, said, 'We arrived with twenty-five ships and have landed 6,000 men, including a fifth of the sailors. As soon as we have captured Ariyânkuppam, these will be sent on board and we shall attack by land and sea. That is why we attacked Ariyânkuppam to-day. When our ships were on the way, we saw some French ships at Mascareigne, and after a short fight we sailed away unhurt. A French master-gunner who deserted from Pondichery promised to take Ariyânkuppam in a couple of hours, point out where to land, and show us how to capture Pondichery.' When the Governor heard this, he came to the place where I was with M. Boyelleau, M. de Bury, M. Guillard and some 15 other Europeans, and told us what he had heard.

Letters also came from Ariyânkuppam and from M. de La Tour with the detachment occupying our side of the river. They said that the English had retaken the Padres' church, that their fire was reaching the Nayinâr's choultry near Murungampâkkam and the toll-gate in the bound-hedge near Kêsava Râo's garden; that one sepoy had lost a leg, that another had been wounded in the hip, that a boy had been struck in the breast, a Coffree had been hit in the belly, and a sepoy had lost his head; that they were approaching the walls of Ariyânkuppam and that the gunners had stopped firing. The Governor had been full of joy a little before; but his face fell as he read these letters. His words were confused; he thought the town was about to be taken. He was as though possessed of a devil, and agreed with whatever was proposed without knowing whether it was right or wrong.

However the Englishman was treated kindly, and given wine, bread, tea and sweets. They went on asking him questions about what they wished to know. I do not know what he said. It was M. Mariol[1] who interpreted what he said. He was then taken by the kitchen in the Governor's house to the place where Ignace, the Topass, and others were. The other was treated the same, and given bread and wine and tea, and also questioned. I do not know what he said. Blood was running from

[1] There was an officer of this name at a later date; but probably the name is in error for Friell who commonly served as English interpreter.

a bullet-wound in his shoulder, so he was taken to the hospital.

Just then five or six of the English cannon-balls were brought to the Governor. All were of the same size, made of cast iron, and weighing each five pounds and a quarter.

Then news came that the English had advanced up to the walls of Ariyânkuppam and surrounded it on all sides. Some wept at this news. The Governor did not know what to do, and could not speak without tears. I cannot describe his frantic alarm. But though he is full of fear and surrounded with difficulties, yet his good luck has always carried the day. I have written enough about this matter. For all his folly, his good fortune has bewitched the English. After a short retreat they returned in order to scale the ramparts with ladders. Those on the ramparts and others below under 'Alî Khân and Shaikh Hasan fought so bravely that the English retired to the Ayyanâr temple with severe loss. M. de La Touche and M. Law, officers, wrote to the Governor that the English shells were falling on the ramparts at Ariyânkuppam, that some had been wounded by their bursting, and that the French would have to withdraw as they could no longer hold the walls. The Governor replied that they should retire quietly.

News also came that, though many of the English had fallen, they still advanced steadily without flinching, that, though some had retired on account

of the heat, the rest were pressing on boldly in spite of their losses, and that their fire had killed some of our people. I obtained four of their cannon-balls and have kept them.

While the Governor was thus in great alarm, the whole town was in a panic at hearing the sound of the firing. Many women and children, when not allowed to pass the gate in the bound-hedge, were ready to force their way out in despair. For the last five or six days, the guards have been taking bribes to allow people to pass, but Shaikh Ibrâhîm, fearing what might happen if he let more pass, or if the Governor were informed of those who had already gone, thought it best to ascertain what the Governor wished; so he came and told him (as written above) that many women were crying that it was a matter of life and death, and that the enemy were about to attack the place. The Governor thought that he could hold out no longer, and, as Shaikh Ibrâhîm came when he was troubled in mind, he said that all the women might go. Shaikh Ibrâhîm told me that, when he asked if rich women might be allowed to pass, the Governor said that they might go, but that any money they had with them was to be seized and brought to him, and that no men, but only women, were to be allowed to go out.

Just then I was told that the Governor wanted me. As soon as I went, he asked me if it was true that all the women in the town were flying in panic.

I said that it was. He then told me that he had ordered Brâhmans and women to be let out after being searched, but none else. I replied that he was right to do so, as during these troubles Sûdra women and Brâhmans would be very troublesome in the town. He agreed. He never would have given this order had he not been perturbed in mind, and had not the people been destined to see better days.

He then told me to send for three hundred of the Muhammadan sepoys stationed at the bound-hedge instead of the three hundred and fifty he had previously sent for. I told Shaikh Ibrâhîm and went to the nut-godown.

He again sent for me and asked how many peons were under Malayappan, adding 'I hear that fifty of them who were with the detachment have deserted. Let proper orders be given.' I said I would do so, and having sent for head-peon Malayappan I told him what the Governor had said. He replied that the peons were not under him but under Alagan, Madame's man, that therefore he could do nothing, for she would say that only her own people could give orders, and that he had no business to interfere. I agreed with him, that it would be incurring her anger for nothing. So I told him to give no direct orders, adding that, if any complaint was made and the Governor questioned him closely, he could then say what he had told me. I then dismissed him, telling him to have the other peons ready.

The Governor then sent for me and asked why there were 45 missing out of the 510 sepoys posted at the bounds, including the Carnatic sepoys. I explained that I had sent twenty peons with an officer to intercept the English letters from Tellicherry, ten to go with the Brâhman carrying letters to Mahé, and fourteen to Vakîl Subbayyan at Gingee. He then asked where Malayappan's hundred and thirty peons were. I replied that fifty were at Alisapâkkam under Madame's orders, sixty were here, ten were carrying letters to and from Kârikâl, and ten more who used to collect fodder had gone with the palankin-bearers to Madras.

Two messengers from Chandâ Sâhib have come, saying that they left Chandâ Sâhib at Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram with 12,000 horse and that they had about sixty letters smelling of attar for the Governor and Chandâ Sâhib's [people]. When I questioned them, they said that, by God's grace, Chandâ Sâhib would be here with 12,000 horse in twenty days. I asked if the news was true and they declared that it was. So I went to the Governor and announced that Chandâ Sâhib had reached Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram with 12,000 Maratha horse, and that he had sent one of his people with forty or fifty letters to his family, to the Governor and others. On this he answered with tears in his eyes, 'This is the right time, Ranga Pillai, to write to Chandâ Sâhib that the English will capture Pondichery unless he comes to our help. Ask his family to write also

and have the messengers sent off at once.' I cannot describe the distress with which he uttered these words. Any one would have been troubled at hearing him speak thus. Even the stoutest-hearted would have been affected; how much more then was I? I need not write it. The wise will understand.

I supposed that Ariyânkuppam must have fallen into their hands, and that the horse and foot and even the Europeans occupying this side of the river must be in danger, as otherwise he should never have spoken as if already in the enemy's clutches. So I was troubled, and, thinking of the threatened danger, went to the nut-godown.

I then resolved to send away the daughter-in-law of Tirumalai Pillai's daughter and his family, Chingleput Sêshâdri Pillai's family and Ramana Pillai's family—thirty or forty persons in all, both men and women—who were in my house. However I decided to keep here for my comfort my wife and children, my brother, his wife and children, and three servant-girls. So I told Vîrâ Nâyakkan and Elaichiyappan to send away all but these. The Governor permitted me to do sô. As soon as this was known, all the women, children and old men deserted the town. Shaikh Ibrâhîm and those on the Pudupâlaiyam road at Karuvadikuppam, on the Madras and Sâram roads, and at Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry—all these persons were thereby benefited.

The Governor thought he would profit by Rangappan's[1] issuing passes, and he permitted Shaikh Ibrâhîm to let persons pass with the seizure of their goods and money. He even said that passes might be dispensed with. Shaikh Ibrâhîm has been speaking secretly with the Governor, and letting merchants carry out their goods for a trifle. It was only when the English were ready to spring upon us, when his mind was shaken with alarm, and when women gathered at the toll-gates vowing they would escape though they were to be beaten or killed for it, that the Governor, still lusting after money in spite of his panic, permitted all who wished to depart. Shaikh Ibrâhîm joyfully regards this as an excuse for his having previously allowed people to depart, and is permitting men to go as well. As matters are at this pass, the Governor who has all along been expecting to gain some ten or twenty thousand, has at last given his consent without any objection. Shaikh Ibrâhîm went back to his post, full of joy at having shifted the responsibility.

I then went to Chandâ Sâhib's house to visit his son, Razâ Sâhib, and congratulate him on the Governor's behalf. I obtained three Madras pagodas and two rupees from Razâ Sâhib's servant and sent them as a nazar to Chandâ Sâhib's wife by the hand of her woman-servant with the Governor's compliments. She sent me pân supârî with a

[1] *Quere*, the Governor's writer.

suitable answer. Razâ Sâhib said that Chandâ Sâhib had reached Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram with 12,000 Maratha horse in consequence of my efforts and the Governor's, that his father desired the Governor's permission to come here, and settle his affairs with the help of the French. Promising to talk with me about other matters in the afternoon, he gave a letter to me for the Governor, and another to Madanânda Pandit for himself, adding that he would send me my letter later as he could not recollect where he had put it. There were also letters for Tânappa Mudali and M. du Bausset. I do not know who else has received letters. I then took leave and came home. I suppose that Chandâ Sâhib forgot to write to me.

Before I had finished eating, the Governor's people summoned me. He was ill at ease when I went, and ordered me to prevent any cattle from being carried out. I said that some had already gone, and then went to the nut-godown. He sent me the bill of exchange that is to go to Kârikâl, and I despatched it at once by two of Malayappan's peons.

Then a Brâhman and a Pandâram arrived from Mahé. They said, 'It is twelve days since we left Mahé. We heard that twenty-four ships had arrived there. We saw four of them, and we heard that the rest were out at sea as they could not anchor in the roads owing to the heavy rain. Our letters only announce this. We left them at Varadânallûr,

meaning to fetch them when we had seen how matters stood in the town. On our way, we heard that the English were watching the roads in parties of five and ten. A Topass and five or six peons seized me, and asked if I was not the Brâhman who brought letters from Mahé, and struck me ten times with their fists. But I replied cunningly that I used to do so, but that now I tilled lands at Varadânallûr. It was fortunate that we had left the letters behind, otherwise we should have been put to great trouble. Be pleased to tell the Governor, and send ten musketeers and pikemen with us to fetch the letters; otherwise the English who are watching the roads will seize them.' I thereon took them with me, but I heard that he had gone to the St. Laurent Bastion, where the saluting battery is, and then to the hospital.

News came from Ariyânkuppam that, though the English had retreated, they had rallied and again attacked the walls of Ariyânkuppam, resolved not to withdraw without capturing the place Also the sound of firing was heard from the batteries this side of the river near the ford. But when the officer commanding the English fell, at once they fled, on which, Shaikh Hasan and 'Alî Khân pursued for some distance. The English lost eight horses killed and three taken by the second Jemadar of Shaikh Hasan's people. Two of these are worth little, but the third is valued at 1,000 or 1,200 rupees. News came that some of the English had

fled as far as Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry, and the rest to the beach by Vîrâmpattanam. When this was being reported to the Governor, I went to the St. Laurent Bastion, and then along the walls to the hospital where he was, and met a peon from Ariyânkuppam returning after having brought news to the Governor. The peon told me this, and then set out for Ariyânkuppam. I found the Governor at the hospital, and told him that a Brâhman from Mahé had arrived, that he had left his letters at Varadânallûr, that the English were watching the roads, and that he wanted some peons. The Governor said that no peons could be spared, and that the Brâhman must go and fetch the letters before ten o'clock to-morrow.

As to-morrow is the King's feast,[1] everything was made ready this evening, the troops were drawn up, and a salute fired. As it is also customary to fire the guns on the ramparts and round the town, the Governor went to the sea wall, stationed there all those who have been guarding the Fort for the last six days, namely, 300 peons under Shaikh Ibrâhîm, 60 of Malayappan's peons, the Company's peons, and the gentlemen of the town, the Councillors and writers. He ordered three salutes to be fired, and it was done accordingly. At the combined sound of our twenty-four and thirty-six pounders at the beach, the enemy were smitten with fear and fled. There were similar salutes at our

[1] St. Louis' feast is on August 25.

camp on the bank of the river, and at Ariyânkuppam. As three or four of the best English officers, good men of their hands, have been killed, I think the English will no longer dare to face us. I am sure of it; that is why I write this. According to the report, I should write that many have been mortally wounded. I believe that 150 of the Europeans and Tamils have been killed, and 200 or 300 wounded. This is about the number. As our people were fighting from behind cover, only twenty persons have been wounded and five killed.

In the evening, the English Captain[1] wrote to M. de La Tour asking leave to carry off their dead and wounded. He agreed. So an Englishman[2] came to the battle-field with a white flag, to seek out and remove the wounded. Some of the dead were carried off and buried at a distance; but the English at last sent word to M. de La Tour that they had no coolies to bury the dead lying near the Ariyânkuppam ramparts, and requested him to have them buried. On the battle-field there were found and buried twenty-six corpses. One of the wounded was an officer in command of 400 men; he had lost both his legs. M. de La Tour put him into a palankin and sent him to the Governor. He was sent to the hospital. This is the news related to me

[1] I.e., Boscawen (*Collection Historique*, p. 255). This letter was in answer to one from La Touche offering to permit the removal of the bodies of two dead officers. 'La Tour' in the text should probably read 'La Touche.'

[2] Boscawen's aid-de-camp, *ibid.*

by eye-witnesses and by the Governor, who constantly receives intelligence.[1]

I was not blamed for people having carried their goods out of the town to-day only because the Governor distrusted me and managed matters through Shaikh Ibrâhîm. If I had been managing affairs, Madame would have blamed me, and said that I had made much money and was causing confusion and alarm in the town, and the Governor would certainly have believed her. But as God protects me from blame, a week ago the Governor ordered that his passes should be required at the town-gates and the toll-gates instead of mine, that everything should be reported to him for his orders, and that people should be allowed out only on producing passes with his seal. When Shaikh Ibrâhîm complained to the Governor, he sent for me and forbade my giving any orders, as he was giving orders himself. So they arranged matters at the toll-gates between them. As I did not foresee the issue of

[1] Ranga Pillai's account of the attack on Ariyânkuppam is exceedingly disjointed. However it makes it clear that the attack did not only consist of the attempt to storm the Fort, which is all that Orme mentions. That attack was made at day-break by 700 men and failed. Here the greater part of the English loss was incurred. Then followed an attempt 'to gain a lodgment in the village almost adjoining it and there raise a bomb battery.' This failed because the coolies with the entrenching tools ran away and left the English exposed to the fire of the French batteries the other side of the river. It was then resolved to retire towards the ships and land cannon and material for a regular siege. Boscawen reports his losses at 1 lieutenant killed and 4 officers wounded. Among these was Major Goodyere, mentioned above as losing both his legs. He was commandant of the Artillery, an exceedingly able officer, whose loss left Boscawen with no one competent to conduct the siege. (Boscawen to Corbet, October 17, 1748. *P.R.O. Ad.* 1—160.)

this, I was vexed. But I now know that God, who foresees all, has protected me. Those of my friends who are wise say this also.

Besides this, the following news was received to-day :—As Muttu Mallâ Reddi heard a report on Thursday last that the English had captured Pondichery, he believed that that was the end of the place. So he went with his people to Perumbâkkam, wounded Tirumudaiyâ Pillai, my gumastah, and others, and carried them away. Moreover he carried off the grain and whatever else was there, including the 4,000 kalams of paddy and other grain and the cattle belonging to Chittâmuri Râmu Reddi and others. It is also said that Tirumudaiyâ Pillai and others were severely beaten, and their wounds sprinkled with salt-water. I trust that God, who has brought such anxiety on me by the ill-influence of *Râhu*, will, by the influence of some good planet, punish Muttu Mallâ Reddi and make me rejoice.

I sent a letter to Sêshâdri Pillai, asking him to write to Nawâb Mahfuz Khân, Muhammad Tavakkal the Jaghirdar, Coja Shamier [?] and Vakîl Subbayyan, desiring them to do their best in this matter. I wrote to Sêshâdri Pillai because, owing to the troubles, there is great difficulty in receiving and sending letters.

Sunday, August 25.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, the Governor went with the Councillors,

[1] *13th Âvani, Vibhava.*

writers and other gentlemen of the town to the Fort Church to hear mass. As the European soldiers are posted at the batteries protecting the detachment at Ariyânkuppam, only the writers and sepoys were drawn up and fired three volleys; three salutes of 21 guns each were fired as usual. Then they all shouted '*Vive le roi*,' and paid their respects to the Governor, as it was the King's feast, coming to his house to take coffee; afterwards another salute of twenty-one guns was fired in the King's honour. Then all went home and attended to their various business.

I went and reported as follows the contents of Chandâ Sâhib's letter that was received yesterday:—'I have taken leave of Sâhu Râjâ, and have advanced three days' march with my army to recover the subah of Arcot. I shall proceed thither as rapidly as possible. Because of your message by Jayarâm Pandit,[1] all my affairs have been settled and I have now set out to re-establish my authority in our former capital. Everything shall be settled through you. How can I thank you enough for your help in the celebration of my daughter's marriage? My body is yours; so of a surety all that belongs to me is yours also. My son will inform you of other matters.' When I related this to him, he told me to reply politely as follows:—'You will succeed in all your business, if, as I pray to God, you return at

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 125, *supra*.

once and by His favour take possession of Arcot. I will prepare here all the help that you may need.'

Then he read the Mahé letters.

I afterwards heard that the remainder of the English troops who did not retreat to Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry were still at the beach. They fired five or six guns for fear of being attacked. Our troops who could not go to Ariyânkuppam yesterday, were sent to-day with spades, axes and bill-hooks to clear the trees near the church at Ariyânkuppam, and to pull down the wall surrounding the church. Four hundred sepoys are to be posted there, and one or two more batteries raised near the river-bank. M. Paradis has gone to see to this. This is the news which I heard this morning.

The Governor sent for me at two o'clock this afternoon and said, 'I am going to send the two Mahé Brâhmans to Âttûr, to meet the Europeans coming from Mahé and guide them here by way of Perumukkal.[1] You must write to the Brâhman who has already gone and tell him that he must obey the orders in my letter to the Europeans who are coming, accompany them, and do as they tell him.' I wrote a letter accordingly to Perumâl Ayyan and sent it by the two Brâhmans.

He then sent for his writer, Ranga Pillai, got 200 pagodas in gold from him, took the Brâhmans

[1] On July 26 Dupleix wrote to Louet at Mahé desiring him to send overland 100 Coffrees, 100 of his best sepoys, and 100 of some other kind of troops, presumably Europeans, but the word is illegible (*Nazelle*, p 309).

to his wife, and gave them secret orders. The Brâhmans came and told me that the Governor had ordered them to get another 200 pagodas from me. Writer Ranga Pillai said that he had no pagodas and offered rupees to Singanna Chetti the goldsmith at the rate of 347. But Singanna Chetti said that neither Star nor Pondichery pagodas could be had, and offered old Pondichery, Negapatam and Porto Novo coins, adding that the current rate was 350, and that he would enter the remaining six rupees in his shop accounts. I gave these two hundred pagodas to the Mahé Brâhmans and despatched them.

As the English were exhausted, nothing important happened. The Governor gave orders to cut down the trees in Kanakarâya Mudali's, the Padres', Appu Mudali's and M. Auger's gardens. So the trees have been cut down. I have heard nothing else important.

Monday, August 26.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if paddy was coming in for the use of the townspeople. I replied, 'None has come, but I sent yesterday for the paddy merchants and said, "Is not this the time to bring grain to sell? If you do so, you will both help the town and get whatever price you please. This is a time to make money. Can you make such a profit any day?" But they said, "Which is the more to be

[1] *14th Âvani, Vibhava.*

considered, our profits or the safety of our money ?" I replied, "People may gain a fortune by selling their goods in a time of troubles, but they will never grow rich by selling for ten and a quarter what they have bought for ten. But you may do as you please." They replied that such things could be done only by the wealthy, but they were poor and could do nothing. To encourage these timorous people, I said, "Bring grain into the town and sell it without delay. It may come by the north-west and by the north. Should the English army hinder you, you may return quietly without even mentioning the name of Pondichery, or else give the name of some powerful Muhammadan jaghirdar of the neighbouring villages. Make inquiry beforehand and then bring the bullock-loads. If you are as careful as men should be of their own interests, and deal honestly with us, I will procure you compensation from the Honourable Governor, should the English do you any harm." By these promises, I tried to persuade them to bring in grain, and warned them that, if, in spite of my words, they failed to bring any, they should be fined 1,200 pagodas and be driven out of the town with the loss of their ears and a hundred stripes.' When I told the Governor that I had said this before the Choultry accountants, and that I had taken a writing from them, he said, 'You have done well. Do your best to get grain into the town without delay, and see that no one says there was a lack of food when the town was

besieged. This is not a time when the Company will mind a little expense. We must maintain our honour above all. We usually send people out with money for grain.' I replied, 'If the outside merchants knew, many would bring grain; but if a man went with the Company's money, it would be known whose it was; the English are on the alert; and who knows what would happen? If the former is done, people will bring in grain as usual and will escape suspicion.' The Governor said, 'Very well. Did you hear, Ranga Pillai, that about one o'clock last night, as our patrol passed by the sea-wall battery, the sentry fired without challenging them? Five or ten others did the same and those who were coming behind fired at the people on the ramparts. Thus our people fired at and wounded each other. So I went and inquired, heard what either side had to say, reprimanded them and dismissed them.'

The Governor then said that he had had no sleep last night, and continued, 'There will be a difficulty if we cannot get paddy and rice from outside for the coolies. You will have to take from each person in the town a fourth of what he has bought for his own use and give it to the coolies. If you are the first to give it from your own house, people will not blame you when you ask them to give their shares.' I replied, 'If I cannot serve you in this time of need, when shall I ever be of service? If paddy for the coolies cannot be got in the bazaars, I will do as you say.'

He then came back and asked how much Company's paddy I had. I said that I had between three and four garse[1] of what came from Villupuram. He told me to issue it first, and when that was gone, to take some from the townspeople. I said I would do so.

I then told him that Chandâ Sâhib's son wished to visit him. He said he might come in the afternoon. I sent word by Râjô Pandit.

When we were talking about other matters, he asked what people were saying, in the town and outside, about the battle with the English. I said, 'The few who are wise, here and outside, are saying that it is a time of ill-fortune for the English, for, though they fought hard, they had to retreat without capturing Ariyânkuppam and they have many misfortunes to undergo.' He asked what I thought. I answered, 'According to the Tamil astrology, from the middle of September the town will prosper and God will bless you with all happiness. I told you before that there would be troubles here, but that they would pass away. There have been troubles, but our ships will arrive, our enemy will be destroyed, and you will win great glory. My predictions have always come to pass. I told you what would happen at Madras and elsewhere. There will be troubles this month and

[1] This cannot include the magazines of rice, etc., for the use of the garrison.

they will make you anxious. But our ships will come in mid-September and your success will be complete. That is the will of God. Even considering only what is probable, the strength of the town and our forces, I believe that an army of 20,000 Europeans would lose ten or fifteen thousand men, before they killed two or three thousand of our people, and only so could they capture the town. This is my firm belief and I have uttered my inmost thoughts.' The Governor said, 'But if seven or eight thousand were killed, how many would be wounded? If they lost so many, they could not even hold their own fort.' I replied that, sailors included, they had scarcely five or six thousand people. The Governor said that was true. After talking with him about other matters, I came home.

The Governor sent for M. Gerbault this evening and ordered him to cut the dam at the mouth of the river. As soon as this was done, the water in the river sank and flowed out into the sea. M. Paradis wrote that, if the water were let out of the river, the enemy would be able to advance. So the Governor ordered the dam to be closed again. I cannot say how angry the Governor was with M. Gerbault. The mouth of the river has been closed again accordingly. This is the news.

Tuesday, August 27.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and told me to write politely

[1] 15*th Âvani, Vibhava.*

to Miyân Sâhib, son of Makhdûm Sâhib of Perumukkal, as follows:—'Some Frenchmen are on their way from Mahé.[1] Please treat them well, and when you inform me of their arrival, I will send for them.' I seized this occasion to say, 'I am the renter of certain villages this side of Âttûr. When Muttu Mallâ Reddi heard that the English had attacked Pondichery with twenty-five ships and 12,000 men, he thought that the French would certainly lose the town. So he carried off 3,000 pagodas' worth of grain, cattle and even the villagers' goods. Besides this, he seized four of my people and gave them one or two thousand stripes each. He seized all that they had, and even demanded fifty or hundred in addition from them, pouring salt water into their wounds. So he has been causing disturbances. Till now, I have said nothing, as it seemed the wrong time to get him punished; but if you will give me 100 sepoys, I will seize him, his sons and his friends. He has dared to do this only because the English have attacked Pondichery.' The Governor replied, 'Has that dog dared to do so? God will certainly punish him as he deserves. With the enemy at our throats, a single peon is worth ten thousand at any other time; so I can do nothing at present. But as it is my duty to restore your property to you and to punish him as he deserves, do not be anxious; wait for four

[1] See above, p. 255.

days.' I answered, 'When the villages were first rented to me, he tried to do me a mischief, and I wrote to the Nawâb and others, desiring them to punish him by seizing him and his villages. But Perumukkal Miyân Sâhib wrote that I need not trouble about him, as he had ordered him not to meddle with my villages and to make friends with me, but that if he did such a thing again, he would settle the business. As I am to write to Miyân Sâhib about the Europeans, I might write also that that dog Muttu Mallâ Reddi should be punished for his conduct.' He agreed and said that I might do so. I continued, 'Perhaps it is not necessary. I myself will write as I said.' He said, 'Very well.' So I wrote the letters, called Periya Pillai, explained to him the whole matter to be reported to his master, and sent him away with the letters and a peon.

I then reported that Avây Sâhib wanted to depart, as the marriage affair was very urgent, the bridegroom's people making preparations, and he unable to do anything though he belonged to the bride's house, and afraid to make requests when the Governor was busied in war. The Governor said, 'How can he ask for anything in such a time of troubles? What can I give him? As it is, I have to borrow money; how can I give him a cash of what I have? Don't you know that? and can't you tell him so?' I replied, 'I told him that the matter would be settled when the war was over. But he is troubled, and says that, as it

is a marriage affair, Imâm Sâhib's wife will blame him.' The Governor said, 'No, no. He wants to go because he is afraid. Let him go at once.' Thinking it unwise to contradict him, I said that I would say so, and added, 'Chandâ Sâhib's son has been sending messages for the last three days that he wishes to see you. When I mentioned it yesterday, you said he could come in the evening; but Râjô Pandit is here, saying that the evening will not be convenient.' The Governor said, 'Don't you know how busy I am? Ask him to tell you whatever he wants to say; you can report it to me, and I will send him my reply through you. If you tell me what he has to say, I will give orders. Tell Râjô Pandit and send him away.' So saying, he went into his room to write. I told Râjô Pandit and Avây Sâhib accordingly, and dismissed them. The latter said that he wanted to see the Governor. I told him to do so by all means, and then, having gone to the nut-godown, I came home at noon.

On my way home, I met Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân, who said that he was going to the Governor to tell him that the English had pitched about a hundred tents at their camp near Vîrâmpattanam, had raised two batteries, had stationed peons there, and were assembling their forces.

I also heard that the Nawâb's troops encamped near Vêttavalam were not strong enough, that the poligar of Vêttavalam was getting the better of it, that Venkata Râo, son of Pôlûr Varadayyan, had

been shot, and that the Mysoreans had advanced with an army to Trichinopoly. Vakîl Subbayyan writes that Chandâ Sâhib will soon arrive. This is the state of affairs.

The English gave Nâsîr Jang a lakh of pagodas for sanads to the killedars, mansabdars and Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, requiring them to help the English against Pondichery and Madras. These were delivered to the respective persons. The English Governor has now written to them that the time has come to help the English. Some have replied that they cannot, and others that as they regard both parties equally, they can help neither. I have seen copies of the letters.[1] If Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân replies that he cannot help either side, no one will reply favourably. The English have spent much money in this matter, but have only been deceived. Who ever profited by trusting the Muhammadans? Every one knows that only the strong can prosper; and yet people still are deceived.

This afternoon, the English ship, which lay to the south-east, was brought up and anchored opposite the Fort gate. A two-masted sloop anchored north-east of the Fort and another south-east of it. I do not know why they have done this.

When the Governor returned from his drive this evening, a peon came and called me. I found there

[1] The sanads occur in the *Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 5; orders to assist the English were also obtained from Anwar-ud-dîn. *Ibid.*, p. 55. The sanads were sent out $\frac{\text{July 31}}{\text{Aug. 11}}$. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

M. de Bury, M. Duplan and M. Guillard. He turned to me and asked if it was true that money had been taken from people going out of the town. I said, 'I have heard that seven or eight peons seized near Kûdapâkkam the money of two Brâhmans and that two women lost twenty or thirty [pagodas?].'—'Is it possible?' said M. de Bury. The Governor said that a Reddi who believed the English had taken Pondichery had stolen 3,000 or 4,000 [pagodas' worth] of paddy from the villages rented by me and that he had seized my men and beaten them severely. M. Guillard asked who he was. I said that it was Muttu Mallâ Reddi, the headman of Tindivanam, and related the whole story. The Governor said, 'He did this in an unlucky moment; you shall not lose your money.' M. Guillard said that such dogs should be beaten so that they would never forget it.

Just then, M. d'Auteuil returned from the camp by the Ariyânkuppam river. The Governor took him into the writing-room; so I went to the nut-godown.

Europeans have come in to-day from the camp at the river—fifty for each gate. Of these, a guard of twenty-five has been posted on the sea-front. Till now five hundred people have come in daily from the camp at the river; been posted at nine o'clock at night on the sea-wall batteries, and returned two hours before dawn without anybody's knowledge. But to-day they were posted at the

gate, so there was some alarm. The newly-built houses of Chandramadi Pillai, Muttayya Pillai and Chinna Parasurâma Pillai were examined to-day to see if they would serve for Madame and her people and Chandâ Sâhib's wife. All but those who have departed fear that the English will do some mischief to-night.

At seven o'clock this evening, three Mahé Brâhmans arrived with letters from Mahé. They said, 'A ship arrived from Europe the same day that we set out. Twenty-one guns were fired as soon as the letters were read. By God's favour, our ships have arrived and we cannot describe every one's joy. They sent us, saying that the faster we travelled, the more we should get. This is the twelfth day since our departure. The Governor was very pleased with the letters and told us to come to-morrow morning.' I shall learn the news when I go to the Governor to-morrow.

The Governor sent for Shaikh Hasan (the second jemadar) and 'Alî Khân at eleven o'clock yesterday. He told me to bring dresses of honour worth fifty rupees each, and presented them to Shaikh Hasan and 'Alî Khân, together with three yards of coloured broadcloth, a double-barrelled gun and a pair of pistols for each. A present of a thousand pagodas each would scarcely reward their bravery on Thursday and Saturday. They deserve at the least a thousand rupees. What has been given is not nearly enough for their fight. I hear

that they accepted the presents and distributed them among those who fought along with them.

Wednesday, August 28.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and told me to prepare two dhoolies and send them to M. Paradis; so I ordered the head of the palankin-bearers to send two dhoolies with boys.

I then told the Governor that a reply had been written to Chandâ Sâhib, that I would deliver it to Râjô Pandit, that their[2] letters were also ready, and that they wanted a sealed pass for their despatch. He gave me one, and I delivered it to Râjô Pandit, telling him to send it along with his letter.

The two great doors of the Governor's house have been closed, and every one has to go in and out at the back-door and no other way. Some contrivances have been made to set fire to the ships by means of catamarans, and the Governor sent for them and examined them.

About two hours after day-break, I heard the following news:—The English, who have been entrenching themselves since last Sunday at Vîrâmpattanam, yesterday found a good place and have collected all their army there. They have set up 18-and 12-pounders, and have been firing on our men this side of the river and at the Ariyânkuppam

[1] 18th *Âvani, Vibhava.*

[2] I.e., Chandâ Sâhib's family.

batteries.[1] Their fire has killed one of the European troopers near Murungampâkkam and two women who were carrying rice-water to the Pariahs. Four Coffrees on the river-bank and two or three sepoys have been wounded. So four or five have been killed and ten wounded. No one can use the Nayinâr's Choultry or go to Murungampâkkam and other places.

A tall Portuguese master-gunner has devised a small engine like a boat to set fire to the ships; if carried out on a catamaran on a dark night and lit near the ships, they will be burnt in a moment. The Governor ordered it to be brought, and, after examining it and seeing that everything was ready, sent it back. The wounded people have been taken to the hospital and the dead buried.

A Topass sent by M. Paradis to report the number of killed and wounded says that when M. Paradis was going to and fro near the river, two shots passed just over his head, and that the English fire reached the mark though their guns were loaded with grape.[2] As our people have only small cannon, 6 pounders, and as they are lower than the English, our fire cannot reach the enemy, but falls short. He also said, that our European

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[1] After landing cannon and 1,100 seamen at Vîrâmpattanam Boscawen opened a battery on the 17th/28th against Ariyânkuppam, but it was found useless, the Engineer having so constructed it that the enemy's battery was hidden from ours by a grove of trees. (Boscawen to Corbet, October 17, 1748. (*P.R.O. Ad.* 1–160.)

[2] Literally, with small stones.

horse under M. d'Auteuil were afraid of the English fire, and with M. Paradis' permission had retired within the bounds.

Then M. Paradis visited the Governor and returned after talking with him; and the two 24-pounders at the Madras gate and an 18-pounder from the Fort were sent out to the bounds. Our cannon at Ariyânkuppam and this side of the river have been firing constantly, but God alone knows whether their fire reaches the English. As I have received regular news from our camp, I have written the exact number of the killed and wounded until noon.

At sunrise Avây Sâhib, Chokkappa Mudali and Karîm Sâhib came and told me what the Governor had said when the first two presented to him their petition in French last night, and requested his permission to go home. He answered that he could do nothing at such a time, that they might remain or depart as they pleased, and that he would consider everything when he got an answer from their master. So saying, he gave them passes for the town-gates and the toll-gates. Avây Sâhib said with some warmth, 'With your permission, we will depart. When there was no money at Pondichery, and when we asked you for money with which to pay our debts, you furnished us with goods and forty or fifty thousand in money. But now, though you promised us all we needed for the marriage, it is our bad fortune to be dismissed

disrespectfully without even pân supârî.' On Avây Sâhib's complaining thus, I asked what we could do when the enemy were at our throats, and, explaining that nothing could be expected of us, I pacified him by reminding him of what we had already done. I then gave him a dress of honour worth 65 rupees. I also gave Karîm Sâhib two yards of broadcloth, and Chokkappa Mudali a shawl, and pân supârî, and dismissed them with compliments. I also gave Avây Sâhib the Governor's letter to Imâm Sâhib's son, stating that the business could not be settled as it was a time of war, and that Avây Sâhib would inform him of other matters. I also gave 10 rupees to their servant and sent them away.

News came this afternoon that a barrel on the rampart at Ariyânkuppam, containing 200 small shells called grenades, was set on fire by a shot of the enemy's. It was thrown into the ditch, and, by God's favour, no one was hurt. I do not know how many of the English have been killed.

The Governor then sent for me. I went upstairs to him, and found M. Friell, M. Robert, M. Guillard, M. Solminiac, M. Serre, M. Cotterel, M. Duquesne and M. de Bury. On seeing me, the Governor asked how many of our people had been killed and wounded to-day. I replied, 'I hear that five have been killed and fifteen wounded, and that the enemy have lost about one hundred and fifty. The English have come 6,000 leagues in great anger

because the French captured Madras, and now think that, as they have fought hard and gained nothing, they may withdraw out of danger and yet excuse themselves to their countrymen in Europe; so they will retreat.'—'That is true,' the Governor said; 'but when will they go?'—I replied, 'They will fight for four more days. Then they will leave off fighting by land and will bombard us from the sea for a day. But by then our ships will have arrived, and will sink one or two of their ships, and then they will have an excuse for flight.' The Governor agreed and said that it would surely happen. All the other Europeans thought the same. M. Friell said, 'Ranga Pillai speaks as bravely as a born Frenchman.' The Governor said, 'Ranga Pillai has lived amongst us from boyhood, and he knows our affairs better than any Frenchman.' When he praised me thus, all the other Europeans did the same. I refrain from writing what they said in my praise, thinking it improper to do so.

Then the Governor said, 'How is Madame Ranga Pillai?'—I replied, 'She is at your service.' Then he asked, 'How is your little son?'[1]—I made the same reply. The Governor said, 'In the place where my family is to take shelter, I have ordered a small room to be prepared, with cotton spread over the roof. I have told M. Martin, the priest of the Mission Church, that that room is intended

[1] Ranga Pillai writes these two remarks of Dupleix in French.

for your family. He said that he would tell you about it.' I thanked him for having thought of me and arranged this. All the gentlemen there said that the Governor had not done as much for any one else. I replied, 'My trust is in him only, God alone knows how much.' All were talking about this for about a quarter of an hour.

The Governor mentioned Muttu Mallâ Reddi's plundering my village and his seizing and beating my men. He also said that a European gentleman and a Chetti had been plotting to help him remove his property. So saying, he ordered that any one carrying money out should be seized and brought to him, and that his[1] agents who have come here should be arrested. I pointed out that, if the men who had come here were seized, the money would never be found, and that therefore the money should be seized first. The Governor then said I might do as I pleased. Then we spoke about other matters.

Then the Governor said, 'Ranga Pillai, if you pleased, you could prevent the English people from spying on us, and the people outside from taking service under them.' I recollected how he had believed his wife and the low people appointed as spies, and had therefore imprisoned the cattle-drivers and made them carry earth, thus making enemies in all the jaghir villages. But what can

[1] I.e., Muttu Mallâ Reddi.

be done? If I were to say anything, he would answer, 'You are taking the side of the English, and that is why the people outside do not help us whenever we ask them.' But if he treated them with favour, he could succeed in all his attempts. So I said, 'What can I do? As you are fortunate, everything will happen to your desire, and your enemies will be destroyed. From the beginning of next month you will be made glad.' Thereon M. Guillard and M. Friell said, 'As you are the Chief of the Tamils, they should obey you in all matters. So you must settle this by appointing men proper for such troubled times.' The Governor at once turned to me and said, 'Don't be careless in future but watchful, and settle matters prudently.' I think that all would go as he wished if only he kept his wife quiet in a corner of the house without interfering in outside matters. But how can that be if, when I say, 'Here is a fine vessel,' she at once answers, 'It leaks'? Thinking over the matter, I see that I could have answered the Governor so if he had been alone, but as there were many present, I could say nothing. So I merely said that I would do as he wished. As it was then eight o'clock, the Governor went downstairs to the hall, and I went to the nut-godown.

The following are the terms of the cowle, dated August 27, granted by me to Nallâ Chetti, Hazrat-ul-lah Sâhib's gumastah:—'I, Ânanda Ranga Pillai, hereby permit you from to-day to get grain from

all the villages you can and sell it at the price you please, considering without greed its cost, your profits, and the cost of carriage. You may come and go as you desire. All who come with paddy in your name shall be free from all hindrances ; they and their bullocks shall go out freely with their gains This cowle may be believed. May you live happily here bringing and selling grain.'

M. Paradis raised a new battery this morning and mounted 24- and 18- pounders upon it.[1] As soon as our people opened fire from the cannon on the batteries at the river and at Ariyânkuppam, the English batteries and breast-works were destroyed, and many of the enemy were killed or wounded. They retreated, unable to hold out longer. I do not know what their loss has been. One of our shot struck a barrel of powder which blew up; so the tents also took fire and there was a great tumult in their camp. Many fled. All this happened this morning. Three Europeans and a Topass deserted the enemy and came in here. So to-day's fight ended in victory for us and defeat for the enemy.

As the day before yesterday the Governor ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that any one might carry off the trees cut down in Kanakarâya Mudali's garden, in the Padres' garden and elsewhere, all with their children have been to

[1] See the *Relation du Siège* (*Collection Historique*, p 258).

carry away as much as they could. This is all the news. As M. d'Auteuil was not well, he did not go to camp but stayed at home.

Friday, August 30.[1]—I heard this morning that our sepoys posted in the Ariyânkuppam Church had been withdrawn, and that the English had occupied it last night, stationed soldiers there, raised a rampart in front. and walls around it, mounted cannon, and begun to fire at day-break. Our people and batteries this side of the river suffered severely by the English fire. So fifty or sixty of the Volunteer company, the European horse, sepoys and fifty or sixty Coffrees were sent. They attacked and captured the battery near the Padres' Church. As soon as the cavalry had fired, a thousand men attacked them; and first the Dutch, and then the sepoys retreated, and the Muhammadan horse did nothing, and halted. Fifty or sixty of the enemy were killed; a Captain of foot[2], the Major of Fort St. David[3], and six or seven Europeans were made prisoners. The cavalry and the Europeans fought hard, and before reinforcements came up and before our people could return to the camp this side of the river, they were pursued by the enemy; so M. Paradis' battery and the rest opened a continuous fire. Consequently the English pursuers retreated.

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[1] 18*th Âvani, Vibhava.*

[2] Captain Peter Bruce of the Independent Companies.

[3] I.e., Major Stringer Lawrence.

M. Cochinat[1] received two bullet wounds and a bayonet wound, and was made prisoner. Also five of the European dragoons were killed and five wounded; three horses were killed and nine wounded.[2] Thereon they returned to the camp this side of the river with the Major of Fort St. David and the English Captain (a great man commanding the troops come from Europe) and six or seven soldiers; and these were taken to the Governor. The Governor ordered the soldiers to be imprisoned with those already taken. But the Captain and the Major of Fort St. David were sent to M. d'Auteuil's house on their arrival. M. d'Auteuil was given a list of the soldiers, but it is not known what they have revealed of the enemy's secrets. They are treated with great kindness, and have been furnished with clothes. Each was given a diamond ring. Thus the French have made friends with them and learnt all the English secrets. The Governor has permitted them to wear their swords.

At half-past ten, one of their shots struck a barrel of powder in M. Paradis' battery and blew up

[1] An officer of Dragoons. His horse was killed under him. *Nazelle*, p. 190.

[2] After the Engineers with Boscawen, both those in the King's and those in the Company's service, had failed to construct an effective battery against Ariyânkuppam, the Artillery officers were allowed to attempt it, and succeeded in opening so galling a fire on the morning of August 19/30 that this attack was made by the French. Bruce and Lawrence were taken when the English advanced guard gave way on the first assault. (Boscawen to Corbet, October 17, 1748. *P.R.O. Ad.* 1—160.) Clive says this was due to a panic arising among the seamen who formed part of the guard (*O. I*, i. 114).

four barrels all at once. The explosion was felt even as far as the Governor's house. Eighty Europeans were scorched by the explosion, and three or four sepoys were killed. As the enemy's fire reached our people this side of the river and the Ariyânkuppam batteries, the people this side signalled those at the Ariyânkuppam batteries to retreat.[1] M. Law and M. de La Tour who were there collected the sepoys and soldiers, set fire to the powder, shot, shell and planks and rejoined our army this side of the river. The noise of the explosion was heard about half-past one or two. About 150 of the enemy have been killed and as many on our side, sepoys and Europeans, including those wounded by the explosion. Thereupon the English surrounded Ariyânkuppam, took possession of it, and planted two flags there. A flag was also hoisted on the battery.

As soon as the people who were still in the town heard this, they got alarmed, and departed with their women; Chandâ Sâhib's wife and others are preparing to go. When I was asked, I told Râjô Pandit that it was not the right time to speak to the Governor. In spite of all I could say, they replied at once, 'We would rather die than remain. If you need us after we have gone, we will return as soon as the war is over. If you do not agree to

1 The destruction of Paradis' battery was immediately followed by a bombardment of the Fort with shell. It blew up (Boscawen says) about two o'clock.

this, we will certainly set out, and, if we are stopped at the gates, we will cut our throats.' I replied that they might do as they pleased. I hear that Badê Sâhib's daughter and Mîr Ghulâm Husain also have resolved to leave the town.

To-day all our people at the river withdrew to the bound-hedge. I believe that our men-of-war by God's favour will arrive to attack the English ships and save us from them. Hitherto I did not think that there was any danger; but now it seems otherwise. This evening, it was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that any one selling liquor would be hanged. The Fort flag-staff has been lowered.

Kanakarâya Mudali's wife, his younger brother Tânappa Mudali's wife and children, the women in Arumpâtai Pillai's house and his children, all those employed in the Fort and every one except my people, have left the town, having removed their goods, jewels, money and so forth, leaving in their houses one or two persons, old men or women.

Saturday, August 31.[1]—All that happened yesterday, the death of so many by the explosion, the capture of the Ariyânkuppam fort and the church by the English, the retreat of our people from the Ariyânkuppam river to the bound-hedge, the alarm and confusion in the town, all these have disturbed the Governor and changed his countenance.

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[1] 19*th Âvani, Vibhava.*

Razâ Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's son, came to the Governor and said, 'The town is alarmed; the women are afraid of the cannon-balls; so we desire to go to Valudâvûr and those parts, and return when the troubles are over. By then, Chandâ Sâhib will have come, and we will take our leaves becomingly and depart with pomp.' The Governor replied, 'It is not wise to depart. You and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân are ill-friends; many of the Navâits envy you, and dislike your prosperity; and they will stir up the English army against you.' When the Governor thus raised objections, Razâ Sâhib without urging his departure said that he would remain within the Valudâvûr limits, that he had written to the Nawâb Sâhib to send as soon as possible Morâri Râo with 3,000 horse to help in these troubles, and that, though he would be outside, he would do all that the Governor wanted. The Governor thanked him, and at last agreed to permit them to go out.

Razâ Sâhib then asked permission to see the ships through the Governor's telescope. Leave being given, Razâ Sâhib went upstairs, examined the ships, and, having returned the telescope, went home.

Then the Governor asked me what Badê Sâhib and Mîr Ghulâm Husain meant to do. I said that Badê Sâhib wished to do the same. Then he asked about Mîr Ghulâm Husain. I replied that he wished only to send ten women but no men to Âlan-kuppam, and that he did not wish to remove his

goods. The Governor said that he was right, but complained that Razâ Sâhib was proud because Chandâ Sâhib, his father, was coming in splendour. Then the Governor was busy with the preparations.

After this, a letter was received saying that the 400 Europeans and sepoys[1] who set out from Mahé had been stopped at Palghatchêri. The Governor asked if that was in the Mysore country. I told him that the Mysore country began at Coimbatore, that Palghatchêri was in Malabar, and that our people always came that way. Then the Governor said, 'If so, it is strange that they should demand money now,' and asked if Sâmi Bhattar and Krishna Bhattar (who have come here) had been sent by me. I replied 'I hear that Perumâl Ayyan and Ayyâswâmi whom I sent were allowed to pass by the people at the limits, and reached Coimbatore, the furthest point of the Mysore country. The people you mention are Mahé merchants who came with our men as far as Palghatchêri, and now wish to return.' The Governor agreed and said, 'Give them 200 pagodas for our people's expenses and send them back; and write to Perumâl Ayyan and Ayyâswâmi telling them to bring the Europeans here as soon as they can. I sent people to Âttûr five or six days ago with 200 pagodas to bring the Europeans here. Tell the two persons who are

[1] Dupleix seems to have asked for 300 only. See above, p. 255

now going with pagodas and those who have gone to Âttûr, to meet the Europeans and give them the money for their expenses, and guide them here.' I said I would do so and asked him for his letter. He gave it to the Brâhmans accordingly. I also gave a letter.

They then went to Ranga Pillai, the Governor's writer, and asked for pagodas if he had any. He said he had no pagodas, but gave 700 rupees instead. I then wrote to Valudâvûr Râmabhadra Reddi, desiring him to give pagodas for the 700 rupees, gave them to the Brâhmans, and despatched them.

To-day the English hoisted their flag on the Ariyânkuppam fort and on the church, and fired their guns one after the other. There is nothing else to relate.

The English have proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that the people of Ariyânkuppam and the out-villages may freely return, till their lands, and live at peace; that as many coolies as were wanted could come and work; that they would be paid one fanam and batta, that any who used violence to them should be put in the stocks, and that whoever committed serious crime against them should be hanged.

I hear from people who have been to and from Ariyânkuppam that the English have freely permitted outside people to bring to their camp rice, paddy, milk, curds, buttermilk, ghee, vegetables

and such like, to sell them at what price they please and return; that no oppression is being used and that they are behaving with great justice. When the Pondichery people who have gone out on account of fear, went there with milk, curds, and vegetables for sale, they were seized for some trifle or other and taken to the Captain. But he grew angry, and said they must be fools who lost their tempers so, and that these people should be helped. As he befriended people who were thus seized, all are supplying the camp with provisions without delay. I hear also that Mr. Boscawen, the Rear-Admiral who has now arrived, is a great man, and is reckoned benevolent and just. I came home as it was past twelve.

At about six o'clock this evening, the Governor sent for me. When I went, I found him upstairs talking with the prisoners (the Captain and the Major). Râjô Pandit was also waiting there for a passport. On seeing me, the Governor came up and said he had heard that I also was departing on account of the troubles. I replied, 'Please say who told you so. Let them prove it in my presence, and let me be punished as I deserve; but if they lie, let them be punished. Although you know me well, although I behave with the greatest caution, although you are very kind to me, and although what you have heard is false, yet my ill-luck makes you disbelieve me. Have no more to do with me. Of what use is all I have done and said? Enough!' I said this

sharply, but he answered, 'Quietly, quietly. No one has said anything to me. I asked you of myself, because these are troublous times.' I replied, 'All the women, Christian and Tamil, have left the town with all their goods. But I have sent away neither wife nor goods. Make inquiries if you do not believe me. They are still in my house.'

He then asked me if I would really stand by him. I answered, 'Whether you believe me or not I have always stood by you, and am resolved that my life is yours.'—'I know,' he answered, and, without saying more, he went and sat with the others, having told me to write out a passport for Râjô Pandit for his signature.

On this Shaikh Ibrâhîm told the Governor that there were only 200 bullocks; whereon the Governor called me and said, 'No bullocks can be given now. Tell them[1] to get bullocks outside if they want them. This is not the time to reduce the number of bullocks in the town. They may make what arrangements they please to remove their goods —I do not mind how—but no bullocks can be given.' So a passport was written for five bullocks, fifty coolies, a hundred peons, five horses, five camels, and five carts. He signed it and gave it with a sealed pass for the toll-gate. Râjô Pandit took them and went home. I went to the nut-godown. I have written what I heard and what took place.

[1] Chandâ Sâhib's people, who were leaving Pondichery.

The Governor caused a letter to be written by the English prisoner[1] to the Governor of Fort St. David and sent it by his chobdar.

Moreover Madame Dupleix has secretly posted at the bound-hedge ten or fifteen of the hundred peons under her orders, to seize all the money that men and women have with them, and the jewels in their hands, their ears and elsewhere. Thus she is plundering people, but no one can question her. The sepoys posted on the roads, the Europeans, and Shaikh Ibrâhîm himself know this; but even so, they are afraid and allow her to do whatever she wills, for fear of her false charges. For four months M. Dupleix has ceased to manage affairs. Madame has been ruling in his stead. All the Europeans, Tamils and Muhammadans, men and women alike, have been saying that some evil would come to pass. Now the town is in danger and the people are in great trouble. I do not know when God will put an end to her rule and protect the people. Men's tears are like water seeking to escape from a vessel; they die daily for very fear. When will God comfort them? I do not know, but I am sure that He will protect them. But they are yet so troubled that I cannot describe their grief.

[1] Apparently Lawrence wrote merely to announce that he and Bruce were unwounded. *Fort St. David Cons.*, Aug. 22, 1748 (*O.S.*).

SEPTEMBER 1748.

Sunday, September 1.[1]—Chandâ Sâhib's wife, 'Alî Dôst Khân's wife, Hasan 'Alî Khân's wife and others did not set out last night but between half-past seven and eight this morning. As soon as the merchants (Chettis and others) heard of this, they resolved to carry out of the town about 2,000 bags, and so waited at the town-gate, with their bags stretching from the gate to Chandâ Sâhib's house. But as only five bullocks and fifty coolies were mentioned in Chandâ Sâhib's pass, the sergeant at the gate told Razâ Sâhib that he could only pass so many, and that the rest must be left behind. Razâ Sâhib then alighted from his horse, and pointed out which his packages were They were hen taken out, and he said that he had nothing to do with the rest. So when they came, the sergeant beat some with his musket; but though ten were beaten, yet they did not go away. So two guards seized the packages, and those who stood by opened them and carried the packages into a house. Thus Chandâ Sâhib's wife passed the gates with her children and goods.

Then Râjô Pandit went to Madame to take leave of her. When he was still there, the Governor came and asked what he had come for. He said that he

[1] *20th Âvani, Vibhava.*

had been sent to offer thanks for the Governor's kindness; but Madame replied, 'Is it right in return for our protection to abandon the town when we are in trouble?' He replied respectfully, 'We are only leaving the town for fear of the enemy's shot. We shall only remain outside for a while and then return. We never thought of abandoning you.' He then came and told me what had passed. But I had begun to suspect that Madame might tell the Governor that they would never return, for they had sold everything, down to their winnowing fans and brooms, for a quarter of what they had given for them, and that, though I had told him nothing, I knew all about it. Perhaps she has said other things as well. So I said to the Governor, ''Alî Dôst Khân's daughter, and Hasan 'Alî Khân's daughter will not go to Wandiwash, Arcot or Vellore. They will certainly return as soon as the troubles are over, and will not go right away. Meanwhile they will remain at Valudâvûr. Chandâ Sâhib's wife may perhaps go to Wandiwash, but I am not sure.' The Governor said, 'I think so too.' As he himself has told me that Chandâ Sâhib will not come here, he cannot blame me.

Afterwards the Governor sent for me, but before the peon arrived I had heard that head-peon Sântappan had seized Appu Mudali's younger brother for trying to leave the town with 100 pagodas, goods, and jewels of silver and gold; and

had brought him before Madame, who showed everything to the Governor. On this, the Governor grew angry with Appu and ordered him to be imprisoned at the Choultry. I saw Appu Mudali near the godown being led by the chobdar to the Choultry, and he told me that he had been ordered to the Choultry prison on account of the great fault he had committed, and that he was then going thither. So saying, he accompanied the chobdar to the Choultry.

When I went to the Governor, he said, 'Do you know what Appu, my own servant, has done? That is why I have ordered him to be imprisoned.' I said nothing, as it was not a good time to reply.

When he asked if Chandâ Sâhib's wife and children had left the town yesterday, I said that they had gone only this morning. He said, 'I hear that they sold everything, down to their winnowing fans, before going. They owe me money. Tell them they must pay before they go.' He then sent for a corporal and told him to tell the officer who had just gone to the gates not to let them pass the toll-gate. As I was going to the Valudâvûr gate to see Chandâ Sâhib's son, I met him near the godown, and said, 'You cannot leave the town. I have a message for you.' I then went home with him and told him what the Governor had said. He replied that he would pay the money before he left.

After taking leave, I went to the Governor and reported his answer. The Governor told me that

the women with the goods had been ordered to return and detained on their way to Sâram, but that he had sent word to the sergeant at the Valudâvûr gate to let them go. The sergeant told the European officer at the toll-gate; so Chandâ Sâhib's wife with her children and goods were allowed to depart. I cannot describe her grief. She said that she had never been treated with such disrespect. Men say that to-day's action has obliterated all the good done to them ever since May 1740.

The Governor sent for me again and said, 'I detained Chandâ Sâhib's son, not because of the small sum he owes, but in order to prevent him from going away at present; that is why I asked him for the money. You need not press him for it. Explain the reason to him.' There was nothing else of importance, so I came home.

The English are fortifying Ariyânkuppam and remain there [1]. Our army remains at the bound-hedge and there has been no fighting. The Governor sent word to M. Paradis that neither men nor cattle should be permitted to pass the toll-gate.

Tuesday, September 3. [2]—This morning when I was sitting in the nut-godown, about to report to the Governor the news that came in yesterday, Madanânda Pandit came and said, 'Your doings are

[1] Boscawen was employed repairing the Fort from August 20/31 to August 25/September 5.

[2] *22nd Âvani, Vibhava.*

discovered. Madame has imprisoned the Brâhman who arrived yesterday with Vakîl Subbayyan's letters for you, opened the packet, sent for Dairiyam, Tânappa Mudali's sister's son, and made him read the letters. As we wrote to Mahfuz Khân and others about the Âttûr business,[1] Subbayyan must have answered that, as the people were scattered, he would give them the letters, speak with them, and write their answers subsequently. He could have said nothing more. She will release him as soon as she has read the letter. We cannot say anything now. She has dared to do this, because we made no complaints to the Governor, though the same thing has been done twenty or thirty times before, and because she was sure that no one would venture to tell the Governor. Now she will release the man before noon. We had better wait till then and then report it. If we hastily do so now, Madame will say that the passers-by seized and brought in a lean Brâhman because he was carrying a letter, and that she ordered him to be taken to the Nayinâr's house so that she could release him after examining the letter. If she says this, what can we reply? In these times she may say what she pleases; and the Governor will believe her if she says that she put the Brâhman in custody because the English have surrounded us and because Brâhmans may be expected boldly to enter the town

[1] I.e., the villages plundered by Muttu Mallâ Reddi?

for news in the present state of affairs, and that she intended to inquire afterwards. Moreover the Governor does what she says. If you speak now, he will only say that you need fear nothing because you are innocent, no matter what inquiries are made.' Thus Madanânda Pandit urged me to say nothing for the moment, adding that she would release the Brâhman by the afternoon and send the letter to me. I then considered that his knowledge of Madame's thoughts proved that he had been there last night and interpreted the letter to her. So things fall out by my bad star. The best course is to attend calmly to my business. If I hastily go and report this to the Governor, he will not listen, because Madame bewitches him. Moreover the confusion and alarm caused by the war make him confide everything to his wife, while he himself does nothing. Should I succeed now in my attempt, it would be well; but, if I failed, nothing could be worse; and if I still do nothing, my enemy still may feel the need of caution. So I have resolved not to report this to the Governor. [.]

Friday, September 6.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked if Seigneur Husain Sahib had really been trying to get Chandâ Sâhib's and Badê Sâhib's people out of the place. I replied, 'He attempted this in a time of peace; will he be quiet in these troubles when all, even

[1] *25th Âvani, Vibhava.*

women, are deserting the town? Surely he will try his utmost, and perhaps he may have reason to make such a request.' To this he answered that he would never permit them to leave the town, and added[1] that no Brâhmans ought to be admitted into the town as they were said to have joined the English and to be giving news of our affairs here. He then asked how many Brâhmans were in the town. I replied, 'Many built houses here and were living here. In some houses there are a few men and in some women only. I do not know who can have told you that all the Brâhmans have joined the English, and are informing them of our weakness. If you inquire into it, you will find it false.' The Governor answered, 'They have returned because a list of the houses is being made, and they are afraid that I shall seize them. I should never do that.' I replied that I knew all he had done to induce the people to return. He then asked why people had deserted the town in such a panic. I replied, 'The Tamils are not clever or learned. They do not visit many countries. So they are cowards and run away. But the Europeans know all things, are brave and understand affairs. Their women can talk as cleverly as themselves. But from what I have heard and seen of their alarm, I think that the Tamils are braver than they.' The Governor agreed. I then said that

[1] Reading *Sonnân* for *Sonnên*.

all the Europeans in the eastern part[1] of the town were taking refuge every evening in the Tamils' houses to the west, and so alarming both them and the rest of the town. The Governor listened to what I said, and then remarked that many Christian women had remained in the town, and that he had seen many when he was going to church. I replied, 'The Tamil women were afraid to leave the town and so remained, and only removed their goods when they saw the women of Christians and wealthy men departing with their property. The Tamils have a saying, "Leave the town in time of war but remain in it in time of famine." But it is well that people have left the town, because there was not enough grain here.' He went away as though he had not heard what I said. I sat down there.

To-day Madame arranged that her servants, Varlâm and the youngest son of Toppai, should wait upon the Governor by turns, and report to her whatever people might tell him. So they waited constantly upon the Governor by turns, and reported to her all I said to the Governor. The chobdar always used to attend on the Governor, fetch those whom he wanted, and do whatever was needed; but now all this is being done by Varlâm and Toppai's son. I do not know what will happen.

The Governor went inside, and then into Madame's room; when he returned, he said a word or two to me and I answered him.

[1] The European quarter of Pondichery, then as now, comprised the streets nearest to the sea.

He came again and said, 'I hear that the English are about to retire, and that Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, is demanding the return of his men. Besides, he is said to have reproached Mr. Boscawen, the Rear-Admiral, with having lost many men before the Ariyânkuppam fort and with having been able to capture it only when the French had abandoned it. Has Mr. Boscawen in consequence returned to Fort St. David with the soldiers he brought from there?' Thinking that this must be news given to Madame by her spies, I replied, 'This is not news brought by one who has heard and seen. Any one will spread news to serve his turn, and this may be true or false.'

As I was thus speaking to the Governor, news came that the English had seized Olukarai and other places whither they had marched by Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry, by way of the jungles and hills. Then we heard the sound of firing from where the English were attacking the Europeans encamped at the bound-hedge. Hearing this, the Governor got into his coach and went to the Cuddalore gate.

When the enemy is seizing him by the throat, a Governor should consider day and night how to conquer the enemy and defend his town, and he should send good spies for news. But the Governor wastes his time inquiring into stories told him by his wife that So-and-so goes to sleep; when she says that the enemy have retreated, he believes her and

tells every one who comes to see him. Between him and his wife the whole town is being ruined. Moreover she gives unjust orders, accuses men falsely, imprisons them, beats them and puts them in irons. The Christians are favoured, and no one dares question them, even if they raise a riot or beat people. Moreover M. Legou the Second, is as bad, is so foolish as not to care what harm befalls the town, and would do nothing even if he himself were seized. Pondichery has to undergo the malign influence of Saturn for seven years and a half; and as Madame Dupleix, M. Dupleix, M. Legou the Second, the Councillors, M. Guillard and others would stoop to pick up cheroot ends, injustice has established itself and flourishes everywhere. I know not when God will deliver us from these troubles. The town is in misery; many have deserted it; when will God put an end to this?

This evening the English army marched to the bound-hedge, and our men, unable to endure the fire, fled to the gates, and in their flight set fire to the bound-hedge. The Governor then sent men to set fire to the potters' village near my garden, to the houses near Sâram, and to the paracheri near Dêvanâyaka Chetti's Choultry. Madame told him that the Maravars or Kallars[1] (whom she fetched from the south at six rupees each) had, by her orders, stripped the whole bounds—the potters'

[1] Robber castes of Madura and Tinnevelly. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, III, 53 and V, 22.

village, Sâram and other places, and carried off even the cloths which the women were wearing. I need not add that they took the money and goods also—men may judge for themselves. How can I describe the government of M. Dupleix? God alone can protect us; man can do nothing to restore our happiness.

Till now our soldiers have done nothing, and the English are camped at the bound-hedge, Olukarai and elsewhere.

Saturday, September 7.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, I heard the following news:—Yesterday the English advanced to Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry. Then the Europeans and sepoys abandoned the bound-hedge, and set fire to it, to the potters' village, the parachêri and other places; and withdrew to the walls, gates and batteries of the town. The English occupied my big garden and all the bound-hedge. This morning tents were pitched round St. Paul's Church, and two hundred soldiers and a hundred sepoys were quartered there. The Governor, M. Paradis and others went thither and desired that a mortar might be mounted there. But they[2] asked that the Îswaran temple should be pulled down. I think the Governor may have arranged (through Madame) for their help in certain Europe matters; so, as this is a time of war, there was much talk, a council was held,

[1] 26*th Âvani, Vibhava*

[2] Apparently the Jesuits.

and the priests were told that the Îswaran temple would be demolished. The Governor then went home.

The Governor has dishonoured himself. Firstly, he has listened to his wife's words, allowed her to manage all affairs and give all orders, and so received no news of the enemy's advance till they attacked our sepoys at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry. Secondly, Madame has raised a hundred peons and let them plunder people going to and fro. Thirdly, he gave Madame the whole management as if this were a village which lived by selling cucumbers, and every one, the toddy-men, cultivators, merchants and even men from territory subject to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's amaldârs, have been seized, chained by the neck, and made to carry earth. Fourthly, he listened to his wife, and managed the Madras matter without profit to himself or the Company, sent agents who plundered as they liked, raised disputes among merchants, and ruined the whole town. Fifthly, the Pâdshâh at Delhi rejoiced when he heard that M. Dumas had protected the subahdar of Arcot in a time of troubles. Of his own accord, he gave the Governor the command of 4,500 horse, raised him to the rank of Nawâb and conferred upon him the naubat. The glory of the French shone like the sun. But now when that Nawâb's family desired to depart by reason of the troubles, he first allowed them to go, and then, obeying his wife, he sent soldiers after them, when

they were a mile on their way, to stop them, made them stand in the sun and humiliated them. He also ordered Chandâ Sâhib's son to pay 10,000 rupees, saying it was but a small matter, before he departed. So by troubling those by whom the fame of the French was first carried to the Pâdshâh, and by whom were obtained the rank of Nawâb and the naubat, he has got nothing but dishonour which will be known to all, even to the Pâdshâh himself. Lastly, the priests of St. Paul's Church have been trying for the last fifty years to pull down the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple; former Governors said that this was the country of the Tamils, that they would earn dishonour if they interfered with the temple, that the merchants would cease to come here, and that the town would decay; they even set aside the King's order to demolish the temple; and their glory shone like the sun. But the Governor listens to his wife and has ordered the temple to be destroyed, thereby adding shame to his dishonour. If he behaves thus in these affairs, what will he do in others? How can I write everything? The times are ill; and to make matters worse, the town is besieged. I know not how God will protect the people.

M. Cornet came and complained that I had not brought in the paddy which I had purchased in the country. The Governor answered, 'I myself ordered him not to bring it in, as the English are everywhere.' He then called me and asked how

much paddy I had brought in from the country. I said about six garse. He then told me to issue it to the coolies who were at work. I said I would do so. He then told me to measure what liquor I had, and deliver it at the Fort to M. Cornet who would pay for it; and added that the canteens would need no liquor as Monsieur would issue it direct to the soldiers. He then ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom, that all Tamils, Europeans, Topasses and Muhammadans should deliver all their liquor to M. Cornet who would pay for it, and that if they neglected this they should be hanged. I said it should be done, but added that the Europeans and the sepoys in the town were entering the Tamils' houses and stealing the rice and whatever they could find. He ordered it to be proclaimed also that Europeans and sepoys doing so should be hanged. I had these orders proclaimed accordingly, but they are not being obeyed. Even as the proclamation was being made, a Coffree entered a house and stole some rice, but the Governor did nothing. Who will fear unless the Governor punishes some one? But he does not care, and only gets angry with those who report the news to him. The Coffree was kind-hearted; he only took away the rice and let the Chetti alone; but another might have beaten the Chetti, entered the house, and carried off whatever he could find. There are many robberies like this. The peons go into houses and carry off the rice set aside for food,

pretending that they have Madame's orders, and beat to death those who would hinder them. Although all the Europeans and Tamils know this, and even the Second himself, none does anything. I cannot say how ill are the times or what next may happen.

The Governor wrote some Europe letters this evening, and gave them to the Surat messengers who were sent off by catamaran and landed at Kûnimêdu. The catamaran people report that they landed them safely.

The Governor ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that all coolies, cultivators, etc., who could work should assemble to-morrow morning, and that they should receive one small measure of rice and the usual wage. I had it proclaimed accordingly.

M. Paradis and 'Abd-ul-rahmân have interceded with the Governor on behalf of Appu who was imprisoned, and got him released.

Sunday, September 8.[1]—Yesterday, 200 soldiers, 60 or 70 troopers and 200 sepoys were stationed at St. Paul's Church in view of the matter in hand. This morning, M. Gerbault (the Engineer), the priests with diggers, masons, coolies and others, 200 in all, with spades, pick-axes and whatever is needed to demolish walls, began to pull down the southern wall of the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple and

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[1] [*27th*] *Âvani, Vibhava.*

the out-houses. At once the temple managers, Brâhmans and mendicants came and told me. I have already written what I heard last night.

Before M. Dupleix was made Governor, and when he was only a Councillor, all the Europeans and some Tamils used to say that if he became Governor, he would destroy the Îswaran temple. The saying has come to pass. Ever since his appointment, he has been seeking to do so, but he has had no opportunity. He tried to get Muttayya Pillai to do it in May or June 1743. But the latter would not consent, though the Governor threatened to cut his ears off and beat him publicly and even to hang him. So Muttayya Pillai devised a way whereby to dissuade the Governor, and said, 'There has come a Brâhman saint to Tiruppâppuliyûr. As there is a festival there, I will go thither, bring the Brâhman here, and make him tell the heads of castes to remove the lingam and build another temple.' Being reluctant to be guilty of this sin, and desiring the temple for which his father had worked and died to remain there for ever, he thus deceived the Governor, and for the sake of his father's fame he resolved to bear no matter what. He reflected that all things were transitory except glory; and so risked both his wealth and the poligarship. As about then Gopâlanârâyanappayyan had been seized and made prisoner, he feared the Muhammadans might molest him, if he went by land. So he obtained permission, and prepared a masula

boat used to carry nuts, put all his goods into it, and landed at Cuddalore, having beforehand sent his women by land to attend the festival. He then went to Venkatammâlpêttai and lodged in Sadâsiva Pillai's house. But for this stratagem, the temple could not then have been saved.[1]

Now all have left the town by reason of the troubles. The English are besieging us, and the few that remain cannot depart. Moreover the town is full of gunpowder, guns and cannon, so all are alarmed. The Governor allowed the Brâhmans to depart, because ten or twenty of them might be bold enough to suffer death, and because he suspected them of being spies; but he ordered that those who went should not be readmitted, thus taking advantage of the war to get rid of the Brâhmans, though other caste people might return. So all, both men and women, have departed. Besides he has posted soldiers to frighten away even fifty or a hundred persons, should so many come to speak on behalf of the Brâhmans. The four gates of the Fort have been closed by reason of the troubles; and he has ordered the destruction of the temple. What can we do? There are not even ten of the heads of castes to assemble and speak. We can do nothing, because he has taken advantage of this

[1] In Vol. I, pp. 225 and 262-263 Ranga Pillai describes Muttayya Pillai's departure from Pondichery and dismissal from the poligarship. It is curious that he made no reference to the temple affair in his diary of that time.

time of war to accomplish his long-standing object and demolish the temple. So I told them they could do nothing but remove the images and other things to the Kâlahasti Îswaran temple. They again asked if I could not speak, but I repeated what I have written above, and told them at once to remove the images used in festivals, vâhanams,[1] etc. The managers departed, saying that they would tell the heads of castes.

About seven o'clock I ate cold rice and went to the nut-godown near the Governor's house. At once Tillaiyappa Mudali, Uttirâ Peddu Chetti (the coral-merchant), Ammayappan, Pichchândi, Dêvanâyaka Chetti of Negapatam, the mason Venkatâchalam, his brother Lachigân, Kuttiyâ Pillai, Chinnadu Mudali, Ândanâyaka Mudali and two more weavers, Muttukumarappa Mudali, son of Ariyaputhiri Mudali, a Vellâla, the husband of Sadayappa Mudali's sister-in-law, an Agamudiyan whom I do not know, three or four cultivators, and the managers of the temple came and said, 'The temple is being demolished, as they think it the best time to do so. We will speak to the Governor about it, and tell him that if he insists, some of us will die, and none will care to remain here. Please come with us and tell the Governor. But if you will not, we will speak with him and then leave the town.' I replied, 'Many have already left the

[1] Vehicles representing horses and other animals used in carrying the images of the Gods.

town; there are hardly ten of you remaining. Not even a hundred or a hundred and fifty of you can go and tell your grievances to the Governor. So of what use going to him? If you had wished to depart, you could have gone long ago with your women on account of the war; and now it does not matter who remains or goes. You may go if you like.' They replied, 'The Governor ordered us not to assemble to-morrow or the day after, and said we had better not depart, that he would settle our business if we told him what it was, and that we could assemble, leave the town or do whatever we pleased if he failed to satisfy us. But as the temple, as dear to us as life, is being demolished, as in this time of war we cannot assemble and settle any business, and as the town itself is in great trouble and deserted by the people, we are resolved to speak with the Governor. If he hears us, well; but if not, we can only depart.' I replied, 'The heads of castes are intended to report to the Governor any wrongful deeds done in the town. He has told you to report to him whatever is done without his knowledge, and that he will give the necessary orders. But this does not include what he himself may do; and as the present matter is his own action, it will be no use petitioning him. Carry away the temple articles, the images used in festivals and so forth, to the Perumâl and Kâlahasti Îswaran temples.' But they refused to do so, still saying that they would speak with the Governor. So I continued,

'Is there so much union among you? Or has the Governor even thought of consulting you? The temple is being demolished; why talk vainly? They will carry off the temple articles also. Then you will forget the destruction of the temple, but have to ask him to return the goods, and he will triumph, in that after all you have come to beg him for the articles. He thought that all would desert the town and fifty or a hundred be killed if the temple were demolished; so he did not go himself, but being afraid sent others and stationed soldiers, sepoys and horsemen there beforehand. If now you go to him, you will remove his fears. So do not go to him, but go to the temple and remove the articles.' They began saying, 'Do you think us so foolish? Do you not know our wisdom?' I said, 'There are among you Ârumugatta Mudali and Lachigân, mason Venkatâchalam's younger brother, the men who said that they would get people's consent to demolish the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple and build it elsewhere, if Annapûrna Ayyan was made Choultry dubâsh. Have not you been telling Madame for the last two months that, if Malayappa Mudali (Tambichâ Mudali's son) and the other were made Chief Dubâsh and Choultry dubâsh respectively, you would see that the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple was demolished? Moreover, did not Annapûrna Ayyan tell the St. Paul's priests that he had obtained the people's consent to demolish the Îswaran temple, and that he would secure its

destruction if he and Malayappa Mudali were appointed? Formerly the Governor sent for you, and told you that the temple must be destroyed, as it was near the church and in the middle of the street; and so there has always been a struggle between you and him, as he has been urging you to build it elsewhere, and promising to pay the cost and give a good site, never more interfere in your religion, and allow you to do as you like. For the last fifty years he has been promising to give everything in writing; but you have replied that the *svayambhu*[1] *lingam* cannot be removed elsewhere; yet you have agreed among yourselves to build the temple in some other place. Understanding this, the Governor reflected that if he consulted you, you would make great demands; and Madame has assured him that you are disunited and will not cry out, however much you are beaten; so he has not consulted you before he gave the order. Do you not know this? Not ten of you think alike, so can you talk boldly and becomingly? Ârumugattâ Mudali and Lachigân said that they would persuade the rest to allow the temple to be removed; but now they cannot boast. Peddu Chetti always takes the winning side and claims a share; and is frightened if a palmyra falls ten miles away. I cannot approve of your words; you had best say nothing; if you speak now and fail, there is no

[1] Literally, 'self-existent,' i.e., not made by man.

hope left. I heard just now that the southern wall and the outhouses had been pulled down, and that they were demolishing the Arthamantapam[1] and Mahâmantapam.[2] Don't delay. Remember how blindly matters are being driven on. The St. Paul's priests will send the European soldiers, Coffrees, Topasses, and even their Pariah converts with clubs into the temple to carry away, break and damage all they can. If you complain, they will only beat you. So you will lose not only the temple, but also the articles, the images used in the festivals, the Pillaiyâr and all the other images. Any one can do what he pleases here now, and there is no man to question him. Still worse is it in matters connected with our temples. By his wife's advice, M. Dupleix has accomplished what has been attempted in vain for the last fifty years. But now the time has come. I cannot describe the boundless joy of the St. Paul's priests, the Tamil and Pariah converts, Madame Dupleix and M. Dupleix. In their delight, they will surely enter the temple, and will not depart without breaking and trampling under foot the idols and destroying all they can So go quickly and remove all the articles.'

But they did not listen to me. Ândanâyakam, Tillaiyappa Mudali, Kuttiyâ Pillai, Chinnadu Mudali and the three or four others made as though

[1] The court next the shrine. [2] The great court.

to depart, still believing that the Governor would not permit this destruction if they asked him not to. Even when I reminded them of what Ârumugattâ Mudali and Lachigân had said and done, the former said that he could not believe that the Governor would really do so, or at least a new site and money for the temple would be given. So saying he went away muttering, with a pale face. Lachigân believed me, understanding that it was no use talking about the matter, and started to go; but when I related what they had secretly planned to do, he grew pale and he still stood in their midst.

Just then news was brought that Father Cœurdoux, the Superior of St. Paul's Church, had kicked the inner shrine with his foot, and had ordered the Coffrees to remove the doors, and the Christians to break the vâhanams. I then told them that my words had been justified, and went to the Governor's, telling them now at least to go to the temple.

The Governor said nothing, thinking that I should say this and that if he began to speak with me, and went in Madame's coach to St. Paul's Church. I was relieved that he should go away without speaking about it, and, thinking that it was best to do nothing, I followed him, meaning to go to the nut-godown.

Jus tthen Ârumugattâ Mudali, Peddu Chetti, Tillaiyappa Mudali and other heads of castes,

ten in all, went and salaamed to the Governor as he was passing the cattle-shed west of his house. The Governor asked Varlâm what they wanted. Varlâm replied falsely that they sought permission to remove the articles from the temple which was being destroyed. The Governor approved, gave them permission, and then told the peons to beat and disperse the crowd.

The Governor and Madame ordered the ancient Muhammadan mosque, that stands opposite to and west of the Capuchins' Church and behind M. Godivier's house, to be pulled down; and when he sent men to pull down the Îswaran temple, he told them to pull down the mosque also. When they were pulling down the walls round the mosque, some Lubbays went and told 'Abd-ul-rahmân; so he came running to the Governor, salaamed and said, 'It is said that you have ordered our mosque to be demolished. If so, not a sepoy will be left, for they will all fall upon the workers and perish.' On this the Governor revoked his order, for he depended upon them in certain matters; and so, having dismissed him, went to St. Paul's Church. If the Tamils had only had some among them as brave in word if not in deed as these Muhammadans, none would have thought of touching the temple.

'Abd-ul-rahmân, having thus obtained leave that the mosque should not be touched, sent away his men and came to my nut-godown. He said, 'The Governor was wrong to have recalled his troops

from Ariyânkuppam and the bound-hedge when the enemy came to attack Pondichery; and he is disquieting men by interfering with religion. While the troubles last, he should please all, and encourage them to worship Siva so as to achieve success. But instead of this, he listens to his wife, seizes men as spies, imprisons them and makes them carry earth; so that the people have begun to wish that Pondichery may fall into the hands of the English. The town is full of Christians, and justice cannot be had. Even those who have paid their debts are imprisoned, and by Madame's power required to pay more. Every house is being plundered by men who say they are Madame's peons. As though these were not enough, he has ordered the Hindu temple to be destroyed. He should not make the people tremble. What times these are! God brings these troubles on the town in anger at Madame's injustice; a town is sure to be ruined when it is governed by a woman who dominates her husband. The Councillors do nothing. Why do not they ask whether he is managing either the Company's affairs or his own, and whether the Company appointed him or Madame Governor? Can they not tell him what injustice his wife commits? Is not this a sign of evil? Madame gives us orders even about the war. Is this government?' Having thus spoken at great length so that all could hear, 'Abd-ul-rahmân took leave.

I then heard that the priests of St. Paul's Church told the Coffrees, soldiers and Pariahs to beat the heads of castes when they went to the temple to remove their articles. They were scarcely suffered to approach the temple, and when they were removing the vâhanams, shoulder-poles [1] and temple documents, each man was beaten twenty or thirty times. It was with extreme difficulty that they rescued the idols used in the processions and the Pillaiyâr.

Then Father Cœurdoux of Kârikâl came with a great hammer, kicked the lingam, broke it with his hammer, and ordered the Coffrees and the Europeans to break the images of Vishnu and the other gods. Madame went and told the priest that he might break the idols as he pleased. He answered that she had accomplished what had been impossible for fifty years, that she must be one of those Mahâtmâs who established this religion in old days, and that he would publish her fame throughout the world. So saying he dismissed them.

Then Varlâm also kicked the great lingam nine or ten times with his sandals in the presence of Madame and the priest, and spat on it, out of gladness, and hoping that the priest and Madame would regard him also as a Mahâtmâ. Then he followed Madame. I can neither write nor describe

[1] I.e., poles for carrying the vâhanams.

what abominations were done in the temple. I know not what fruit they will reap. All the Tamils think that the end of the world has come. The priests, the Tamil Christians, the Governor and his wife are more delighted than they have ever been before, but they have not yet considered what will befall them in the future. I have written what many persons have told me.

I think the Governor believes that by destroying the temple he has done what no Governor has been able to do for the last fifty years; for even when the King of France wrote thrice to M. Lenoir, himself as powerful as a King, the latter declared it impossible, because all the Tamil inhabitants would have left Pondichery in a body. He believes that the King will think none so great as he, if he can report that he has been able to overcome all difficulties and demolish the temple. He thinks also that the priests of St. Paul's will proclaim his glory throughout the country. But even though he wanted to demolish the temple at this time, he should have assembled the ten heads of castes who remained in the town in spite of the war, and explained that there was war between the French and the English, that the English had surrounded the town, that the temple must be destroyed for military reasons, and so he could spare it no longer, as a building had to be raised there, as high as the St. Paul's Church, to carry guns. With such excuses he should have told them to remove the

temple goods, promising a new site, where (as soon as there was peace) they might build a temple after their manner. Then he might justly have demolished the temple. If they did not remove the goods after having once been told, he could have begun the destruction all the same, since he could say that he had already warned them. Thereby his rule would have been beautified. God protects all equally, and as the lord of a town is as God to the inhabitants, he also should do the like and thereby beautify his rule. And even though the Governor is cruel at heart, he should at least act as I have said. If a man offends God, how can he answer it? So he should rule in justice, for, if he does not, what help is there?

I afterwards heard that the temple had been levelled with the ground, and that the whole people were troubled at heart. That has to-day been done which for fifty years has been impossible. The wise man will say that the glory of an image is as short-lived as human happiness. The temple was destined to remain glorious till now, but now has fallen. I have written as the matter appears to me.

As the English army entered the bounds this afternoon, all the guns mounted on the ramparts from the Oil-merchants' street to the corner of the Valudâvûr gate opened fire. Shells were also fired from the mortar at the Valudâvûr gate and fell upon the enemy. I hear that, when the shells

exploded, even those who had pitched their tents on the high ground at Olukarai were alarmed. I myself went to the Valudâvûr gate and saw the mortar being fired. The Governor too was there. The shell weighed 136 pounds, and, when it was fired from the mortar, it rose up into the skies and descending fell into the camp on the hill north of Olukarai. Its roar and its beauty as it fell, spitting fire, reminded me of the burning star in the Râmâyana. I have seen and heard God's thunder. I think this is man's thunder—no less. It made three different noises,—one when it was shot forth, another when it fell, and a third when it burst. This can be handled by none but Europeans ; for they only can handle it with skill. After the bombs were fired, the guns on the ramparts fired continuously until six o'clock in the evening. Then they stopped, and the Governor and M. Paradis went home. I watched all this from the Valudâvûr gate, and then went to the nut-godown.

The Governor sent for me and told me to give the coolies one great measure of paddy each, and inform M. Gerbault of his order. I said I would do so, and ordered Chinnadu, the paddy-godown writer, to issue paddy when M. Gerbault's men asked for it. Then I came home. I hear that they used a maund of powder each time the mortar was fired.

Ever since M. Dupleix became Governor, he and his wife have been doing their best to get the

emple demolished. But he has always been afraid that the people would desert the town, and then the Company would blame him. So he has been planning how to throw the blame upon some one else. But two persons dispelled his fear—Madame and M. Paradis. She removed a quarter of it, and M. Paradis the rest. Thus the Governor's fears were removed, and the destruction of the temple was ordered without mercy and in secret. M. Paradis is very brave, and he may have said to the Governor, 'The Tamils can do nothing even if you destroy the temple. Have I not done the same thing in the kingdom of Tanjore, full of Tamils and under a Râjâ?[1] I will be answerable for the result. Besides, if you destroy it completely and quickly, they will do nothing and think about something else.' It must have been M. Paradis who encouraged the Governor to destroy the temple. Madame also may have helped him to take the leap, telling him that nothing would happen, but although she encouraged him by repeating what Annapûrna Ayyan and others said, by telling him of the destruction of the Naduvarkôyil at Negapatam by the Dutch, and of the breaking of the images in the temple at Kârikâl and the building of a fort there; still he would have hesitated to act, because she was only his wife.

[1] Paradis converted a temple at Kârikâl into a fort (*Letters édifiantes et curieuses* ii. p. 758), an action of which the King of Tanjore complained (*Lettres et Conventions*, p. 206).

Since he has not hesitated to destroy the temple, I am sure that M. Paradis must have encouraged him to do so. I well know what the Governor's courage is like. No doubt the time had come for the temple to be destroyed; yet they who have done this thing will surely meet with misfortune.

Monday, September 9.[1]—To-day the English anchored a two-masted sloop, with eight boats around it, and fired eight or ten shells at the town before sunrise.[2] On the west side of a lane west of the Governor's house there are the Governor's godowns, then the master-gunner's house, and two more houses inhabited by M. de Kerjean and other Europeans. A shell struck the tulip-tree near the gate on the eastern wall of the master-gunner. M. Burel's house, and fell at the bottom of the wall. Though there was no explosion, yet the shock cracked the wall. Another shell hit the east side of the Governor's house, struck the cornice of M. Bertrand's writing-room, and brought down some of the wall. It burst, and only a fragment struck the cornice [?]. Two shells fell to the north of the sea-gate of the Fort. Another fell opposite Vânûr Bâpu Chetti's house and half-buried itself in the ground. Another fell in the narrow lane by Kanakarâya Mudali's house, near a coral merchant's

[1] 28*th Âvani, Vibhava.*

[2] This preliminary bombardment from the sea was only intended to divert the attention of the French from the English working-parties ashore.

house. When ten shells had thus fallen in various places, all the ladies in the European quarter took refuge for the remainder of the night west of my house and in the Padres' church opposite, returning to their homes at dawn. Madame Dupleix and Madame d'Auteuil arranged to live in the church opposite my house, and removed their goods thither. They had determined to go as soon as the English began to bombard us, and so at five o'clock they hastened with all their goods to the church. The European women screamed, 'Quick! quick! Carry our things in! We shall be killed.' They feared how long it would take to reach the church, and what might happen to them. In such alarm, Madame and the other ladies reached the church.

There are two small rooms below the dovecot in the north-west angle of the Fort. The Governor had resolved to occupy one, and allowed the Second, M. Guillard, M. Paradis and others to occupy the other, with just room for one bed each. Great beams of teak and full-grown coconut trees were laid all over it. Thus they remained inside. When they had arranged for their own safety, the mortars and the 24-pounders mounted on the sea-wall at the Valudâvûr gate, on the ramparts by the Oil-mongers' street, in the middle battery, and at the Madras gate were ordered to fire continuously. About a thousand shots were thus fired, but none of the English was injured, for they watched the

shots and kept moving about, so the shots could not touch them. They are acquainted with the movement of the shells, and can hear their noise as they approach, for the shells move slowly as though hindered in their flight. So no damage was done. Our men ceased fire only in the evening.

I heard in the evening that the two brass mortars firing from the sea-wall had burst; that the bed of the mortar at the Valudâvûr gate had broken and would have to be renewed before it could fire again; and that four 24-pounders on the sea-wall had been dismounted.

The English fired neither shot nor shell till evening and remained quiet.

In the morning, I went and looked at the shell which fell by the Governor's house but did not explode. The master-gunner's men and coolies carried it away with the Governor's permission. They also collected the other shells which did not explode, and delivered them to the master-gunner at the Fort.

I then came home, thinking I could not go to the Fort by reason of the shells. I closed the outer door of my house, placed a stone against it, arranged the bales of coarse blue-cloth and other goods, and ordered that the door should not be opened and that all should come and go by the Vellâla street.

I also sorted all my papers, documents, etc., and placed all in safety, and arranged them in the pigeon-holes of my bureau after the European

fashion, keeping each man's letters separately. As the Governor's wife is living in the church over the way, and European dragoons and sepoys are always lying on my verandah, both day and night, and as she is rather angry with me, I arranged all things safely as I have written above. I sent my family to Emberumâl Pillai's house north of the Vishnu temple, and for myself I hired a room in the house of Varadappan, the brick-maker, to the east of it. Râmachandra Ayyan, Vâsudêva Pandit and other Brâhmans including Sankara Ayyan went by the Madras gate to Lakshmana Nâyakkan's house. Alagappan and others went to Vîrâ Nâyakkan's house. Thus people removed into the streets near the Madras gate, and the enemy fired from their sloop thirty or thirty-five shells between sunset and sunrise. I will now write where they fell and how alarmed men were.

When they began to fire at six o'clock in the evening, I was talking with Annapûrna Ayyan, Vîrâ Nâyakkan and three or four others on the verandah of the nut-godown. A shell dropping near, we fell one upon another and ran into the godown, and my gown was torn. Some serving-girls and Topass women came by with some children. They wept and I cannot describe their fear and agitation. This shell dropped in the Second's garden opposite the nut-godown. When another also fell there, I thought it unsafe to remain there and came home.

Then another shell fell near the tobacco-godown and burst. Another fell in the garden of the Mission Church. Ten or twelve fell near Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house in Mîrâpalli, and in the streets near by ; and one or two in the weavers' street. Thus they dropped their shells all over the town, to show that they could send them wherever they pleased. Some burst in the air and fell in eight pieces ; others on touching the ground, and half or wholly buried themselves in the earth. They thus destroyed two or three houses in Mîrâpalli. Some burst close to the church in the Fort and injured it. One or two fell in the ditch, some in the ditch east of the Fort, and some also near the sea-gate of the Fort. They thus bombarded the whole town.

One shell struck the west side of the hall facing south in Sadayappa Mudali's house in Kanakarâya Mudali's street. Badê Sâhib has been living in the eastern part of this house. The shell broke through the rafters, beams and tiles, and reduced the chests there to splinters, doing great damage. In a room next the hall facing south, Qâdir 'Alî Khân, adopted son of Badê Sâhib, was sleeping. He was slightly wounded by one or two pieces of tile falling on his head and neck ; he bled a little, and his cap, coat and cot were stained with blood. Ten or fifteen of Badê Sâhib's slave-girls, his peons and servants, rushed to the Mission Church where Madame was, weeping, with their hands on their heads. They knocked at the door, crying, beating

their cheeks, and saying that Badê Sâhib's house had been struck and his son killed. On this Madame ordered the door to be opened, admitted them, and asked what the matter was. 'Why do you say that the Badê Sâhib[1] is dead? Don't you know that my husband is the Badê Sâhib? I feared my husband was in danger. How dare you behave so? or come bawling to me like this?' Thus she scolded those who went to her. 'What!' she said, 'because a bit of tile fell and drew a little blood, you come at the dead of night shouting as though the whole world was drowned! What do you mean by saying that Badê Sâhib is dead?' She said jokingly that she and her people had wept when they heard this, and added, 'When my husband comes to-morrow, every one here will tell him that I fainted when twenty or thirty people came with their hands on their heads crying that Badê Sâhib had been killed.' She thus behaved as though she were much and suitably alarmed, and said at last, 'He is not dead. Are you so frightened at seeing a little blood? or can you say that my husband is dead?' So she angrily dismissed them. They then returned and related what had happened. If people, who are terrified at the mere thought of a shell, are wounded, even slightly, in their own homes, how can I describe their fear? Any one can imagine it.

[1] *Badê* is the same as *barâ*, great.

When a shell dropped near the house of Chandâ Sâhib's son, he ran away to my Chandramadi Muttayya Pillai's house, but fearing to remain there, he went between ten and twelve o'clock to the verandah of barber Tiruvêngadam's house to the westwards, and stayed there till daybreak. Having thus spent the night, at dawn he went to Arumpâtai Pillai's and Muttayya Pillai's houses. The Company's merchants who have removed their children and goods and are alone, wandered about the streets, beating their bodies in fear whenever they saw a shell. I cannot describe it. Tânappa Mudali, Varlâm, and their families, went and stayed in Kâlavây Kumara Pillai's house. I cannot say what panic fills the people at night. They constantly reproach the Governor with having refused in a time of war to let them depart.

In all about forty shells were fired to the terror of the people. The weight of these shells ranged from 150 to 210 or 215 pounds. It was astonishing to see them slowly rise, all shining, and burst as they fell. Although so many shells were fired, no one was either killed or wounded. This is what happened last night. No one till now had imagined their force or their noise. But now even boys and girls know, people have lost half their fear of them. There is a noise when they are fired ; they look like a sun and make much sound ; they come slowly, like a man with a great belly ; so people can escape and go aside as they come near. So people are

growing brave and despise the shells; and do not even ask if a shell is coming. I have written thus briefly what I have seen and heard.

Judging from the fear shown to-day, I can say that the Tamils are a hundred times braver than European men and women.

Tuesday, September 10.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, the Governor went to visit the sea-wall batteries; and seeing a shell fall near him, he laid himself flat on the ground. Two or three gunners did the same; by God's favour it did not burst, but buried itself in the ground. The Governor at once returned to the Fort. He then visited the Valudâvûr and Madras gates, and afterwards went to the Mission Church where his wife is.

She told him that Rangappa Chetti, Chinna Tambu Chetti's son, was trying to procure permission to depart for Badê Sâhib's wife and children, on condition of paying her two pagodas and Pedro Mousse's wife a fanam for their intercession. She also repeated with great exaggeration and in all detail what happened last night in Badê Sâhib's house. I do not know what the Governor said. He then came away.

Soon after I went to the Fort, the Governor returned from the Mission Church. As I had not seen him all yesterday, I went to his bomb-proof to pay my respects. M. Bussy, M. deLa Tour, M. Serre

[1] 29*th Âvani, Vibhava.*

and M. Cornet were there. When I paid my respects, he called me and said, 'Monsieur Ranga Pillai, I told you I had reserved a room in the Mission Church for you and your family, and that you might go there when there was any firing. But that room is crowded with ladies. There is an arched building under the west wall of the Cuddalore gate—a better place than the church. There may be some European women there, but I will tell them to go elsewhere. You may stay there with your family.' So I salaamed and thanked him.

He then said, 'I hear that a shell struck the house of Badê Sâhib's son and that he was wounded by a stone or something in the head and bled a little; so at two o'clock at night, a crowd went crying to my wife, knocked at the door, and told her that Badê Sâhib had been killed. As *Badê Sâhib* in the Moors' speech means *Senhor Grande* in Portuguese, my wife thought that I had been killed; she was agitated, wept, and did not restrain her sorrow. When I inquired, I learnt that the son of Badê Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's brother, had received a wound as large as an ant-bite, and that Badê Sâhib's wife had come in much excitement saying that, unless they were allowed to depart, she and her son would cut their throats. On this my wife grew angry, and said that, if they cut their throats, they could go to the hospital to get their wounds dressed. So she dismissed them.' I replied, 'I cannot imagine how they ever governed provinces. I have never

met such timid people in the world. Chandâ Sâhib's son heard that Badê Sâhib's house had been struck; and was in a panic all night long. I think they will all die of fear.' The Governor said nothing, so I continued, 'How can I describe the anxiety of the Company's merchants last night? As soon as the English began to fire, they fled into corners and complained one to another of their ill fate. They were unspeakably frightened—so were the half-caste and European women, and the gentlefolks.' I said this, meaning to get permission to depart for the Muhammadans and others who were frightened, if the Governor took up the matter. But he dismissed me, saying two or three times, 'Shells are falling—you must take your wife and children to the place I told you of.' As he said this to prevent my saying more, I took my leave and came home.

I at once told Chidambara Mudali to take to the godown at the Fort the ginghams, chintz and guineas, and report it to M. Cornet. I also told him to guard the house well. I then went to eat at Emberumâl Pillai's and went to my lodging. Five ships are still off Vîrâmpattanam, but the rest with Rear-Admiral Boscawen himself sailed to the Kottakuppam roads north of the Fort and anchored there.

Wednesday, September 11.[1]—The English sloop anchored off the Fort this morning and shelled the

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[1] 30th *Âvani, Vibhava.*

Fort itself. One shell struck the powder-magazine, and knocked down and set fire to the beams and coconut trees laid above it. So water, and then sawdust and sand, were thrown over them. Another struck the sorting-godown, pierced an arch three feet thick, made a great hole, and burst as it fell. A third struck the dovecot and burst. I hear that others struck the ramparts, and the Church door, while more fell near the Engineer's tank and the Second's house opposite M. Dupleix'.

As the English fire was in this direction, and as I had heard that the English army had encamped at the sugar-cane garden at Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu, and was building batteries there, having occupied the limits, I went to M. Vincens who commands the bastion at the corner of the Oil-mongers' street, desiring to ascend the ramparts, and watch. M. Kerjean, who commands the bastion to the south of it, was also there. The Palli head-peon, Savarimuttu the lame, who commands a hundred of Madame's spy-peons, and who is also the Company's head-peon, has been posted at the corner bastion.

Madame told the lame head-peon that her spies were Visanganâdu Kallars,[1] that they were bold in fight, that they would steal horses, bring news and kill any one—in short, all that Kallars do.[2] They

[1] A sub-division of the Kallar caste. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. III, p. 71.

[2] Cf. Orme's History, I, p. 381, for an exploit of theirs in stealing Lawrence's and Clive's horses at Trichinopoly.

were given a hundred or two pagodas as presents on enlistment. Some Pallis have also been compelled to join. Some Pallis of these parts, gamblers and detected thieves, together with a hundred of the same sort from Mylapore, have been enlisted and given whatever they want. She tells her husband that she has fetched them from the south to plunder the English camp, and has got leave to pay them six rupees a month each. They are true Kallars, and plunder the whole town. One of them came and said that the English were building a battery in the paracheri yonder, with two hundred earth-diggers and a hundred Europeans and sepoys, and shouted from below the rampart to open fire on the parachêri. Savarimuttu the lame heard this and repeated it to M. Vincens. He turned to me and said, 'We have only two hundred sepoys; and they have occupied the betel gardens near, and are firing away although the enemy are out of range,—more than a mile away. Indeed we do not know if they are really in the parachêri or not. They are wasting their powder and shot by this random fire, but they will go to the Governor and boast that they have killed twenty or thirty, and get presents by their lies. Wave a white flag and make these useless fellows return.' I told a peon.

M. de La Touche was in command from the Valudâvûr gate to the Corner bastion by the Oil-mongers' street. So M. Vincens asked M. Kerjean

to inquire whether the paracheri, which the spios reported to be occupied, should be fired at. M. de La Touche gave orders accordingly.

Another spy shouted from below that there were 400 men there. So M. Vincens said to the lame head-peon, 'What is this? Each spy tells a different tale. Perhaps there may be a thousand men, or do they say this because they have seen four?'

They then fired simultaneously all the guns from the Valudâvûr gate to the Corner bastion and thence west of the Madras gate on the east, and the 200 sepoys, having plundered the betel-gardens, retired. 'Alî Khân says he went as far as Nainiya Pillai's Choultry when in fact he only reached Mînâkshi Ammâl's Choultry. He plundered Muttiyâlpêttai and then came in with 200 sepoys. All the officers commanding the bastions mentioned above, fired on the paracheri without ceasing.

The Governor visited first the Valudâvûr gate and then the Corner bastion and the Madras gate; thence he went to his wife at the Mission Church.

Madame has given presents to 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan. Some of our sepoys, who marched this morning to seize some guns at the bound-hedge near Murungampâkkam, were attacked by the English as they were returning with the guns. In the fight two horsemen were killed. They then returned with the cannon. The English pursued them a long way, but withdrew with some loss. Madame was with the Governor when they

arrived. As a sortie had been resolved on for the afternoon, he rewarded them with presents for having brought in the cannon, in order to encourage them to drive the enemy beyond the bound-hedge, destroy their batteries and kill as many as possible. 'Abd-ul-rahmân and his younger brother Hasan were given each a piece of Dacca muslin and six yards of two-coloured broadcloth. The troopers received 100 rupees, and the sepoy foot 220—320 rupees in all.

After giving these presents, Madame said, '100 Europeans, 500 sepoys and 200 diggers are building a battery near the paracheri in Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu.[1] They might be surrounded and all the 400 [sic] be made prisoners except those who are killed and wounded. My spies have reconnoitred and tell me so. There is good prospect of success, for the enemy's camp is full two miles from the battery they are building, and it will take an hour for them to get help. So if they are surrounded at once, all who are not killed may easily be taken.'

The Governor at once turned to M. Paradis and said, 'We had better do as Madame says.' He agreed. So the Governor ordered the soldiers and sepoys to be ready to march at the Madras gate at one o'clock. He dismissed Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan with many promises, so they

[1] See the Sketch-map of the English works in *Nazelle*, p. 209.

and the sepoys departed and returned to their homes at nine o'clock in great joy.

At noon the Governor sent for me and said, 'I want a bill of exchange for 50,000 rupees payable at Madras. Tell Tarwâdi to draw one and bring it to me.' I explained that Tarwâdi had gone first to Villiyanallûr to perform a ceremony, and then to Âlambarai on account of the troubles.

He then asked me whether the letter that Chandâ Sâhib's son received to-day mentioned his father's coming. I said that he had not heard from Chandâ Sâhib, but only from his mother at Valudâvûr. He told me to inform him as soon as I heard any news of Chandâ Sâhib's coming. I said I would do so, and took leave at about one o' clock.

Two servants belonging to the renter of Vîrâ Nâyakkan's garden went to gather betel-leaves, as they saw many doing so. Madame's peons who went to the garden to steal leaves saw these men, and asked them what they were doing there. They said they had gone as they had heard that some two hundred Pariah men and women and Topasses had been gathering betel there. The peons then told them to give up the leaves they had taken. They said, 'We have picked just as you have. Why should we give our leaves to you?' The peons at once seized the leaves, but the two men said that they would tell Vîrâ Nâyakkan. The peons then led them before Madame with their hands tied behind their backs, saying that they

were Vîrâ Nâyakkan's gardeners who had stolen betel-leaves. But Madame said, 'Don't say that. Say they are spies sent from the English.' She ordered them to be fettered and placed in the Choultry prison; and it was done accordingly. Since such injustice is done in the town, how will God protect them?

At three o'clock this afternoon, M. Paradis, the Commander of the army, having taken leave of the Governor at the Madras gate, marched with all the European and Muhammadan horse and sepoys, 800 or 900 in all, and two cannon, to attack the English who are near the Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu paracheri, destroy their batteries and return with the prisoners. The Governor left the Madras gate and went to the Corner bastion by the Oil-merchants' street to watch the fight.

Savarimuttu, Madame's Palli spy, came to M. Paradis as he was marching at the head of the troops and said, 'There are 200 diggers, and 200 Europeans and sepoys at the paracheri and the battery that is being built east of it. This is the time to destroy the battery and capture the people.' M. Paradis asked if this news was true. He declared it was and produced two men who said that they had just returned thence. M. Paradis then asked which way he should go; and Savarimuttu said he would guide him. So M. Paradis told him to go ahead. He did so, and M. Paradis and his people followed.

But the English saw the advance of the French; and a thousand Europeans and sepoys prepared themselves, and lay hid in a trench north of the paracherî; and two hundred diggers were ordered to work at the battery east of the paracherî till the French drew near, when they might run away. Such were their preparations. But our people did not know that the English were hidden in the trench; so Savarimuttu the lame and the spies led the army and General north of the paracherî to surround it and the battery, while the horse moved to the south The English lying in ambush in the trench north of the paracherî had their guns ready; and when the French neared the paracherî, the English all at once fired a thousand muskets. About a hundred of our people were killed and wounded. M. La Roche,[1] M. La Métrie's sister's son, died of his wounds—Europeans and sepoys were also killed. Those who were wounded and carried back into town were:—M. Paradis, mortally wounded in the head; Shaikh Hasan, younger brother of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and second jemadar, with his shin-bone broken; some forty or fifty Coffrees and Europeans and four officers wounded, and brought in in cots, dhoolies and palankins; and a few Topasses,

[1] The *Relation du Siège* says he was Lieutenant of the 2nd company of Grenadiers. He was killed just as he was about to leap into the English trenches. (*Collection Historique*, p. 285.)

also taken to the hospital.[1] When the English ceased fire, all our cannon from the Valudâvûr gate to the Corner bastion by the Oil-mongers' street and on the Madras gate, fired a thousand shot against them; but I do not yet know what hurt they did. A European officer who was in the fight told me what had happened on the march out and in the battle, as he was marching back to the Fort. I have written briefly what he said and what happened until the time when they entered the North gate.

Thursday, September 19.[2]—This morning at sunrise two shells fired by those English rascals just missed the St. Louis bastion and fell into the ditch on the north. To-day we could clearly see the English battery in the paracheri at Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu. We could not see it before. It was struck by our shot and damaged by our shells; but in spite of this the obstinate people repaired it with earth. They have lost many by our fire.

[1] For the French account of this sortie, see the *Collection Historique,* pp. 282, etc. Boscawen says, 'The enemy made a sally upon our entrenchments with 500 whites and 6 or 800 blacks, but were repulsed by our advanced guard of 100 men with considerable loss.' (Letter to Corbet of October 17, 1748.) Clive, who was actually in the trenches, gives a lively account of this affair (O.I. i, 116, etc.). He says the French were divided into two parties, the French grenadiers and some sepoys to attack the advanced trench, and Paradis with the main body to attack the larger reserve trench. On his being killed, the main body withdrew without attacking; but the other party did not see this, and came right up to the advanced trench. The captain in command was killed by the French fire, and two out of the three platoons fled; but Clive's platoon stood fast and received the enemy with so heavy a fire that they went to the right about

[2] *7th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

For the last five days, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and his people—300 sepoys and 60 or 70 troopers—have been boasting that they have been at night as far as Nainiya Pillai's Choultry to the north. In fact, they have kept inside the bound-hedge, and every day in company with Madame's 20 spies have been stealing all that they could find buried on account of the troubles in Muttiyâlpêttai—the brass vessels, mortars, pestles, grinding-stones, cots, women's cloths, chests, beams of teak, planks and beams of red-wood, tulip-wood and margosa-wood, coconut-trees, whatever money they could find, jewels, goods, paddy and the nine kinds of grain.[1] These they have been carrying in with them when they returned to the Fort in the morning. That is all they have done instead of fighting.

When the people of Muttiyâlpêttai demanded back the grain, etc., which had been stolen, they were seized as spies, brought before Madame who would not hear them, and ordered to have a hundred stripes each, to be chained by the neck, and to carry earth. Some in despair said, 'If the English had plundered us, we should not complain,' but they thought it best to do nothing, for fear that, if they complained, they would be tortured, treated as slaves, fettered and made to carry earth. So they did nothing. I know not why God inflicts such punishment upon the innocent. Unless this

[1] That is, wheat, paddy, lentils, *tuvar*, Bengal gram, beans, sesamum, *ulundu* and gram.

injustice is permitted by God, I know not to whom it can be attributed.

As the townspeople have departed by reason of the troubles, there is no means of learning news, and Madame's spies alone go in and out of the town. They pretend that they go out to capture the English spies in these parts, and to inform the sepoys and horse, who are sent out at night, about the movements of the English. But in fact twenty or thirty of them go out, plunder Muttiyâlpêttai and other villages, and come back separately with the horsemen and sepoys. They seize our townspeople who try to recover their goods or who go out to learn the welfare of their relations outside; and these are accused of being English spies and carried before Madame. She thinks all that her rascally spies say is as true as verses from the Vêdas, and is delighted to order many to be beaten, lose their ears, be put in irons and forced to carry earth. She delights in having men tremble before her; but she forgets that she is acquiring great infamy. She exercises such authority that men think that she and none other is the ruler. Thinking this the best time to establish her power, she never asks why a man has been seized or who he is, but at once orders him to receive one or two hundred stripes, to lose his ears, to be chained by the neck, and carry earth. This goes on from morning to night, and she sends Pariahs to live in the houses of the Brâhmans, Kômuttis, Vellâlas and other castes, in order to root

out the religion of the Tamils and establish her own in its place. If any of these Pariahs are driven out on the ground that they should not live in such houses, they complain to Madame, who sends for the accused and punishes them. So the Tamils' anxiety for their houses and property is swallowed up in their fear of being dishonoured. I cannot describe their alarm. It has been prophesied that, at the end of the Kaliyuga,[1] all religions will decay, all castes will be mingled together, and the caste-people will cease to observe their customs. So men now say that Madame's benevolence has revealed the end of the Kaliyuga in the town of Pondichery. Unless it were the will of God that the townspeople should cease to observe their customs, and that the castes should be mingled together, M. Dupleix' authority would not have ceased and Madame would never have begun her rule. That is why the town is full of injustice. Each behaves as though he were the Governor. Hundreds of people, Coffrees, sepoys, and Europeans enter houses, pretending to be Madame's spies, and steal what they can find. Pariahs go and live in the houses of Brâhmans, Kômuttis and Vellâlas. Women are ravished, and none complains, because [ ].[2]

[1] The fourth and last of the *Yugas* or eras, into which the cycle of earthly existence is divided.

[2] Probably by a transcriber's error the diary from the beginning of this day is repeated at this point in the Madras transcript.

Since it is the will of God, such things cannot but happen. Coffrees, Topasses, and Europeans with axes and spades cut down coconut trees in the streets, pick off the young leaves, and go away with them. Moreover the trees fall on peoples' houses and damage them. Every one does as he likes. M. Dupleix is no longer the Governor; it is Madame who rules. Her people may break into houses and plunder them; but no one dares to accuse them. Should any say, 'We have preserved our goods from the English, but they are being plundered by the French,' they would at once be bound and brought before Madame as spies; and she would order them to be given 200 stripes, to lose their ears, to be chained neck and legs in pairs, and made to carry earth. So every one thinks only of safety and forgets his losses. Knowing none dares to complain, they take what they please. Pariahs are living in Chettis' and Kômuttis' houses. If the inhabitants say, 'What is a Pariah like you doing in our house?' they are not only beaten but carried before Madame. How can I write what injustice is being done in this town? And what is the reason? Why does the master allow the town to be plundered? It is his nature, as I well know. And the troubles here are a retribution for what was done at Madras. When that town was captured on September 21, 1746, the French plundered it, and the inhabitants went to and fro seeking safety. So now the English should capture Pondichery, plunder it, trouble the inhabitants, drive

them in fear out of the town, and kill many. But as Pondichery is destined to survive its troubles and escape destruction by the English, so God has set our own people to trouble one another. All know that God measures to men with the measure they themselves have used. These matters are so notorious that all know them, so why write in detail? The wise will understand; and others would not, however much I wrote; so I have written briefly.

The English have fired sixteen shells this evening and they [ ].

Friday, September 20.[1]—There was a hand-to-hand fight this morning between the English encamped on the west and the 200 sepoys and horsemen under 'Alî Khân. I hear that four of our own people were wounded and two killed, and that two horses were killed. A tall broad-shouldered Tamil sepoy on their side was struck from his horse; four or five also fell and five or ten were wounded. So they abandoned the bound-hedge and fled to Ella Pillai's Choultry. They had four cannon which our people tried to bring in; but they were left behind for want of men.

Writer Ranga Pillai told me that Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân reported this to the Governor as he was passing M. Signard's[2] house on his way from the West gate of the fort to the Villiyanallûr gate.

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[1] *8th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

[2] He was an employé of the Company who seems to have died at Mahé in 1742. He had a library which was large enough to be worth sending to be sold at Pondichery. (*P.R. No.* 60, p. 560.)

Then a Kollakar[1] came and said, 'When I was returning by way of Ariyânkuppam after giving the Kârikâl letters to the Chidambaram runners, there was one of Madame's peons standing by Kanakarâya Mudali's garden; and when we passed the town gate, the Mahé sepoys took us to the Governor. The Governor asked me who I was. I said that the Pillai had sent me with a letter for Kârikâl, and that I was returning after giving it to the runners. He told me to come and report to you. So I have come.'—'Well,' I said, 'did you hear anything about the English camp?' He said, 'I hear that thirty or forty bullock-loads of rice were sent out from Fort St. David; but as the Pennâr has been full for the last three days, there was no crossing it, and the English this side have been suffering from want of rice and other provisions. The river has now fallen, and rice and other provisions reached the camp yesterday. Thirteen men from Kâyal were brought in yesterday. Mr. Boscawen, the Rear-Admiral, has written to the Governor of Fort St. David that, as the rains will set in in seven or eight days, the ships may winter at Trinkâmalai, the Nicobars, or thereabouts, that he will renew his attack next January, and that, till then, Ariyânkuppam may be garrisoned with a thousand men. The sailors will depart when an answer has been given. Many are said to have died in the English

[1] See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. III, p. 304.

camp, and they cannot get coolies because of their ill-treatment.'

I heard this news very early this morning, and, having eaten cold rice, I went to the Fort to inform the Governor. He said that he was going to inspect the batteries and gates, and told me to wait. Accordingly I waited in the sorting-godown.

The Governor returned at eleven o'clock, and I at once went to him. He had ordered the soldiers in the house which is half-built to make gabions of wicker-work. They had made nearly the whole number. When he went to see them, the soldiers complained and asked for liquor, as they were very tired. He ordered liquor to be distributed.

The Koravars[1] make such baskets, and their regular pay is a fanam a day; but they said that a fanam was not enough and demanded a fanam and a half. This was refused. They made some baskets at the old rate, but went away as soon as the troubles began. M. du Bausset, who was in charge of the work, ordered them to be sent for and said that he would pay five fanams. As they did not come, the soldiers who had learnt to make similar baskets on the Europe ships, were given patterns which they imitated more or less well. When the Governor had looked at them, he went in and asked me if Mîr Husain Khân, the Killedar of Valudâvûr, and others were really assisting the English. I

[1] A gipsy tribe with criminal tastes. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. III, p. 441.

replied, 'They will never help the English—never. The English have been seizing people in the villages and making them sign declarations that they are concealing no one. So the five or six people concealed there have been sent away and many have fled to Valudâvûr. When the English went there to demand them, Mîr Husain Khân replied angrily, "What right have you to demand people in my town? Formerly the French demanded those who were flying from Madras. You cannot frighten me as you do the villages." There is a village called Kottaikuppam belonging to the Perumukkal people. I hear that it has been plundered and one or two cultivators ill-treated. So to escape a like fate, the villagers are carrying to the camp paddy, rice, buttermilk, milk, curds and other provisions for sale. Also many have gone to work as coolies under the English, but this is not with the Muhammadans' permission. None of the owners of villages are there, that is of those villages within five miles of Pondichery. Muttu Mallâ Reddi alone has been regularly supplying the English camp with grain and other provisions; and he has also sent 300 men to their help, and he plunders the Pondichery people wherever they are to be found. So the talaiari rogues called poligars under him ill-treat people. He has written to all his villages that any Pondichery people should be plundered and driven away. There is also the Nayinâr of Mâttûr called Lakshmana Tantri, who owns the village of Mâttûr

near our Kâlâpêttai, and whose jungles were cut down by our Company's people for charcoal. Muttu Mallâ Reddi has always feared the Muhammadans and Reddis of Kâlâpêttai, so he has seized and beaten the Nayinâr, and made endless troubles for him, saying, "You used to threaten people when you were under French protection, but now the English have taken Pondichery, hoisted their flag there, and shut up the Governor and others; the French are weak and cannot help you, nor even hold Pondichery any longer. They will be driven out of the country." Except him, no one living outside Pondichery will dare to act against you.'—'Well, Ranga Pillai,' the Governor said very loudly, 'by God's favour the troubles will be over in ten days, and I will not suffer this man to live. Any Frenchman would take vengeance for this; but if I live, I will do more. I will not tell you what, but you shall see.' I replied suitably as follows: 'Nothing would more dishonour the French than to do nothing. They would lose respect. But henceforth every one will fear to act against us. Those who know that the French always revenge themselves, will beware of attacking us. When the English asked Nawâb Mahfuz Khân and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân for help, with promises to give presents worth a lakh of rupees that had come from Europe, and to provide all that the camp needed, and to pay besides a lakh of pagodas, they replied that the French were a revengeful people, and refused their

help. But now one unfit to bear your slippers has joined the English. What can I say of his rashness? I think he has only been so foolish because his complete ruin is at hand.' He replied sharply that no born Frenchman could let the Reddi get off without suitable punishment.

Thinking I had said enough, I suggested that if letters of compliment such as we usually send were written now to Nawâb Mahfuz Khân and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân inquiring after their health, they would receive them with great pleasure and his courage would shine greatly. He agreed. I said that I would write a letter such as we send monthly as a mark of respect, even when there is no business. I obtained a gate-pass for three peons to carry the letter, and took my leave of him.

On my return, M. Le Maire and M. Burat, who were talking together, called me and said, 'You and others have joined together to mislead the Governor, so that he has suffered the English to surround the town and kill us. You were always saying that the English would never come; when they did, you said that they were weak, very weak, and would go away. So you have been helping the English to take Pondichery.' I replied, 'It is eight months since I ceased reporting the spies' news. Did you not know it?' —'Yes,' he said, 'I know it; but why did you say so then?' I replied that I had only reported what I had heard. 'In that case, you had to report it,' he said; 'but why do you not report Madame's unjust

deeds?'—'When you Councillors are afraid to do so,' I answered, 'how can I?'—I then went on my way.

There is a German dragoon who has deserted the English. He was asked what news there was of the enemy's camp. This is what I heard him report:—1,600 soldiers have come here, together with 200 men landed from each ship. There are seventy horsemen including himself; and the soldiers who came to Fort St. David from Bombay, Tellicherry and other places. The Governor said that he would send him to M. d'Auteuil, the Commander of the dragoons, and have him appointed an officer this afternoon. Then I came home, and I do not know what happened afterwards.

I heard to-day that three soldiers, two Frenchmen and one Dutchman, had deserted to the English camp.

The enemy have begun to fire shells from the west and about seventy or eighty shells fell near the ramparts at the Valudâvûr gate; but no one was injured.

Saturday, September 21.[1]—The sepoys did not attack the enemy to-day as 'Abd-ul-rahmân and others told the Governor yesterday that the 27th of Ramzân[2] according to their religion was inauspicious for Muhammadans; so to-day they have done nothing and abstained from battle.

[1] *9th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

[2] The 27th Ramzân corresponded with September 20–21, beginning at sunset on the first day.

Before I went to the Fort, two of Malayappan's peons, who had been to Chidambaram with letters for Kârikâl, said that two or three Pondichery letters had been returned from Chidambaram to Kârikâl on account of difficulties; that a thousand horsemen and sepoys were encamped at Kârikâl, demanding the restoration of the villages pledged by the Tanjore people, and that M. Le Riche at Kârikâl had answered that the English must take Pondichery first.[1] I asked what they had heard on the way. They said they had heard that Pondichery was captured and that its chief had lost his senses. I then asked why they had brought a third man with them. They said, 'Tadi Arunâchala Chetti's family are living in Tiruviti and Panruti. They heard that, when Arunâchala Chetti was walking along the street after eating, he was struck by a shot in the belly and killed. Therefore they mourned for his death, observed the funeral ceremonies, and lighted lamps for his sins. In the midst of this mourning, we halted there on our way from Chidambaram. Ponnan, Arunâchala Chetti's man, saw us and asked if we were not Pondichery people. We said we were, and added that we had fled on account of the troubles. When we were about to depart, he asked whether we had seen Tadi Arunâchala Chetti, and when we had left the place. We replied that we had left it four or five

[1] Pratâb Singh had agreed to attack Kârikâl, and did appear before it but was forced to retire.

days before, and that we had seen him talking with you along with the Company's merchants. He then asked by what means we knew him; and we told them. Though what we said did not agree with the report of Arunâchala Chetti's death, they believed us; and as their anxiety was abated, they made us promises, and sent this man with us to learn the truth.' When I asked Ponnan, he said that all the funeral ceremonies had been celebrated, and that he had been sent to learn the truth.

I then asked if there was any other news. They replied, 'When we reached Villupuram, 500 Muhammadan horsemen were halting there. They said that they had been sent by the Nawâb Sâhib to prevent villages from being plundered.' I asked them whether this was true and whether they had seen these people. They said that they themselves had seen the horsemen. I think there may have been 200 horse, but not 500.

Having heard this, I went to the Fort, and reported all to the Governor except the news about Arunâchala Chetti's affair. Thereon he said, 'Send some people to burn the villages, so that we may complain to the Nawâb of the English for burning them.' I asked for gate-passes to allow men to go out; he gave a pass for six men; I took it and went to the sorting-godown.

There Ârumugam came and said, 'Five or six shells from the English land-batteries have fallen in Sêshâchala Chetti's garden near the Corner

bastion and in the Oil-merchants' street this side; so your children are afraid to remain in Emberumâl Pillai's house with shells falling only ten paces off.' I resolved to go to Mîrâpalli and find two houses for my children nearer than the toddy-drawer Kuppan's house, which I asked about before. So I went with Chinnadu Mudali and Madanânda Pandit and got three houses—two belonging to Pichchakuppan, and another belonging to a diviner, for my children and for the wife and children of Badê Sâhib, to live in. On our return, a peon came and said, 'A shell struck an ox tied up opposite Arumpâtai Pillai's house, and nothing was left of it. Madame Dupleix, at the Mission Church opposite your house, heard of this, and, at once getting into her carriage, went to her husband at the Fort. Some other women there were very alarmed, and have gone, some to the vaulted building near the Cuddalore gate, and some to the place where M. Elias' women are.' I then came home. There I heard that a shell had struck the middle of the Valudâvûr gate, killing a European and a Tamil, that another had fallen where the mortar battery is, killing a European, that a third had struck Âdinârâyana Pillai's house, and a fourth Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân's house. On this his women, leaving their zenana, fled to the toddy-drawer Pichchakuppan's house in Mîrâpalli, which I had taken; but there my people prevented them from entering. I sent word that they might stay there, as they had

fled for refuge from these dangers, and resolved to find another house for my own use. I then removed my children from Emberumâl Pillai's house to Pâlayappa Mudali's, which I use as a godown and, having eaten at home, returned thither.

I then found men to set fire to the villages outside, and I sent my Tiruvamudaiyâ Pillai, Varada Pillai, and the Sadras peons to Muttu Pillai. The townspeople are panic-struck. Although arches two feet and a half or three feet thick were built over the Mission Church, and covered with bales of cotton and beams of teak, though coconut trees from my house opposite were cut down and laid over all, to prevent shells piercing them, yet, in spite of all these devices to escape the shells, Madame Dupleix has fled to the Fort on hearing that a shell had fallen by Arumpâtai Pillai's house. Every one in the town is abusing Madame. When timid Tamils went and told her that they feared the shells, she calmly replied that no one had been killed, and that they were needlessly afraid. She even told her husband. But now what has become of her courage? She is bent on ruining the town, but takes good care of herself. How can I say all the abuse that people heap on her?

The enemy fired about a hundred shells to-day from the west, and forty or fifty at night from the sloop in the roads. But people fear these English shells less than Madame Dupleix, who accuses them

falsely, and gets them punished, and vexes them more than can be written.

I hear that a priest went this afternoon to the people at the Valudâvûr gate to hear their confessions and give them the sacrament.

The Governor sent for Shaikh Ibrâhîm to-day, and ordered him to march with three hundred sepoys against the English camp near Dêvanâyaka Chetti's Choultry, and attack them before sunrise to-morrow. He gave him twenty rounds a man—[6,000] cartridges in all.

People are saying that they have been able to live in peace for the last thirteen days, while Madame Dupleix was at the church and Monsieur Dupleix in the Fort; but now they tremble at the consequences of Madame's going to the Fort. On account of the shells, the Governor did not drive out as usual this morning.

Sunday, September 22.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning and salaamed, he asked when Chandâ Sâhib was coming, and whether his family had had any news of him. I said none had come. He then asked when it would rain. I replied, 'As now it is very hot, soon there will be heavy rains and storms; then the English will depart and you will be joyful.'—'I doubt that,' he said. So I answered that it was certain to happen, or at any rate the English would have to retire before the end

[1] 10*th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

of the month. He said sadly, 'I hope your good words may be fulfilled.'

The Second and four or five Councillors have been using the room west of the Governor's; but since Madame came into the Fort in fear of the shells, this room has been set aside for her, and they have been ordered to go to the great vaulted hall built for a guard room and armoury under the broad-cloth warehouse. M. Dulaurens and others are there also. There is only one entrance and one doorway, which the Governor also uses. I went there and spoke with the Second and others. Then the Governor went to the Villiyanallûr gate and I went to the nut-godown.

The Governor sent for Shaikh Ibrâhîm last night and said, 'You must lead your men to-morrow to attack the English. You have always been saying that only 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys are allowed to go, and begging me to let your people go and fight too; I hear that the English have raised a battery near Dêvanâyaka Chetti's Choultry and that they have there 1,000 Carnatic people, sepoys and soldiers. You must drive them out, and destroy their battery. Moreover [ ].

Thursday, September [*26*].[1]—About two hours before daybreak this morning, 'Abd-ul-rahmân marched out with 350 or 400 of his sepoys, fifty or sixty sepoys under Shaikh Ibrâhîm, and sixty or seventy Muhammadan horsemen, and occupied the

[1] 14*th Puratțâsi*, *Vibhava*, the day of the month is entered as September 25 in the Madras transcript.

bound-hedge near Karukudikuppam on the north. The English had there 1,000 Carnatic people and Europeans. A sharp fight took place between the English outside the bound-hedge beyond the palmyra trees and the French inside. The English lost between forty and fifty Europeans killed and between seventy and eighty wounded, with as many of the Carnatic people, whereupon they fled, till men on horseback compelled them to return. The French lost one mortally and between ten and fifteen slightly wounded.

The Honourable Governor went to the bastion near the Madras gate to watch the fight. I watched it from the Chucklers' bastion. As the ground beyond the bound-hedge near Karuḳudikuppam is high, we could see all the enemy's movements, their retreat, and the horsemen driving them to fight.

When the Governor saw 400 or 500 men advancing to their help, he ordered 'Alî Khân and his sepoys to march at once. It was then about half-past nine. Our people, having used up all their cartridges, sent for more, and a large number was despatched. European dragoons and troopers were also sent out. The English who had retreated did not renew their attack, although they had been reinforced by 1,000 men; but they all retreated two miles and a half. In their flight they lost many men, and withdrew to their camp.

'Abd-ul-jalîl who has come to help the English was descending the hill from Mortândi Choultry in his palankin with 150 or 200 horse and a flag borne on an

elephant. Seeing them defeated and flying, he also ran away to his camp. We lost ten or fifteen soldiers and two horses wounded. Twenty Coffrees stripped the English wounded of their coats and hats,[1] leaving the dead bodies on the field, but they carried in five who were not quite dead. However three or four of the English died on the way. The Governor ordered the Coffrees to throw away the bodies. They did accordingly. The French returned to Mînâkshi Ammâl's Choultry, with kettle-drums beating in sign of victory, and thrice shouted '*Vive le roi.*' The Governor and others—European gentlemen and Tamils—who had watched the fight from the ramparts, heard them and were accordingly joyful.

'Abd-ul-rahmân and 'Alî Khân with their men and the European dragoons sent to their assistance drew up before the Governor at the bastion near the Madras gate. He congratulated and complimented them, and, having dismissed them, went to the Fort in great joy. As the Coffrees had been the first to attack the English, the Governor ordered half a rupee and a bottle of liquor to be given to each. I also hear that all of them have been given muskets. When I reached the street east of my nut-godown, I took leave of M. Solminiac, M. Cotterel, M. Bury's son, and other officers who were there, went into the nut-godown, and thence came home at eleven o'clock.

[1] The *Relation du Siége* describes them coming in wearing English wigs over their leather caps. (*Collection Historique*, p. 304.)

Besides the people killed in to-day's action, our daily fire of shell and shot against the English battery near Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu, has been killing fifteen or twenty a day; and besides these, many are dying of disease; so they cannot remain there. I think about 1,500 Europeans have been sent back to Fort St. David from the day of the fight at Ariyânkuppam till now, and of the Carnatic and Muhammadan sepoys 400 or 500 have been killed or wounded People are saying that the English attacks for the last thirty-five or thirty-six days have only cost them many lives, that the French will have good and the English bad fortune from to-day, and that the English will lose many more people and be defeated before the sun enters the sign of the Balance, that is, before the beginning of Arppisi. I believe they are right.

More than 1,000 shells have been fired from the east and west; but they have not killed even ten or fifteen people, and only a few have struck the houses. What more can they do? They may go on firing for eight or ten days, but they will only damage two or three houses and kill no one. Although the English lost their reputation by the fall of Madras, yet the ignorant feared what they might do if people arrived from Europe. But now these same ignorant people have ceased to fear, and say that though twenty-two ships have brought 7,000 men, the English have done nothing but waste their men, and suffer defeat like cowards. Every one says now

that, though the glory won at the capture of Madras by Mahârâja Râja Srî Governor Monsieur Dupleix shone like the sun, yet God willed that it should shine like a thousand crores of suns, and so He sent this English Rear-Admiral to fight. I always thought so, and I have always told the Governor.

Friday, September 27.[1]—This morning when I gave [the Governor ?] the letter written to 'Abd-ul-jalîl, he kept it saying that he would send it along with his letter to Mr. Boscawen. The letter to Mr. Boscawen said among other things that it was not right to fire [ ] gave them to my chobdar [ ].

As the Governor had ordered yesterday evening [ ] to be given to [ ], I gave him a vessel holding fourteen seers worth 5 pagodas. He took it himself and put it in his quarters.[2]

Saturday, September 28.[3]—I heard the following news at sun-rise this morning. The 54 shells fired last night struck five or six European houses.

They are as follows:—

One struck M. Bury's house and damaged his clothes, mirrors, chairs, etc.; another did the like damage in M. Solminiac's house; a third struck the house of a European carpenter; another struck the house of a European called Perichon [?] and is said to have done some damage. One struck the Second's writing-room by the verandah of his house,

[1] 15*th Purattâsi, Vibhava.* [2] The text is defective. *Cf.* Vinson, p. 246.
[3] 16*th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

rolled on to the verandah, fell into the yard and then burst; so no damage was done. Four or five shells fell in the Fort, but injured neither goods nor men.

The others that fell in the streets and houses did no harm either.

This morning the English began to fire from the west. A fourteen-pound shot struck Namasivâya Chetti's house, and another Vengu Chetti's on the western side of the Chetti street. They were brought for me to see, and I kept the one which struck Vengu Chetti's house. It is also said that two shots struck the Mission Church, and one struck opposite the tobacco-godown, but they only fired twenty times. I hear that 'Abd-ul-rahmân took one to show to the Governor and said it had struck his house. They are also said to have struck the Valudâvûr gate and other places.

The enemy have been firing shells as usual since sun-rise, but as they have only begun to fire great guns to-day, I expect they will not be satisfied till they have fired for eight or ten days, and then they will go away with their tails over their shoulders.[1]

Mason Venkatâchalam's younger brother came to me this morning, and told me about his troubles, as he was going to see my brother and his children. 'God only knows,' he said, 'how difficult it was to

[1] I.e., defeated. A curious reversal of the English saying.

escape.' When I asked the news of that place, he said, 'Your uncle Vîrâ Pillai was at Uppuvêlûr with his wife; but has been seized with what he had and his women's cloths by the English people and silk-weaver Vengan who ran away from here to the English. He has been carried to the English camp and severely beaten. Raghupati Nâyakkan, Muttu Nâyakkan's younger brother, saw him being carried bound by way of Âlankuppam, and explained to the peons and even promised to give 5 or 10 [if they would let him go. But they refused and took him to the English camp. Besides this, Ârumugam's younger brother was seized, beaten, kicked and otherwise ill-used; and was only let go on giving them some money which he had buried. The elder brother was also seized, but released when Bommalâttam Pâpayyan offered them ten rupees. All but those who have escaped to strongholds are being seized, beaten and robbed of their money. I also hear that our Sêshayyangâr and the Choultry Brâhmans who went to Tirumangalam have been treated likewise. All our cattle have been driven from the grazing grounds, and the English are seizing people even in the Muhammadan villages, beating them, and only releasing them when they give up whatever they have. How can I describe these things? The Pondichery people are flying far away.'

As I did not know that Vîrâ Pillai had been in Uppuvêlûr, I sent for his son Muttu and

questioned him. He said it was true. I said, 'What can be done now? It is God's will.'

I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor. He asked what news there was. I said there was none, as no one was coming from Arcot and other places outside. He then asked if Chandâ Sâhib's son had heard anything. I said he was anxious and did not know why he had no news. I remained some time. Till now according to the Governor's orders I have been issuing my paddy to the coolies, carpenters, blacksmiths, cobblers, and the coolies employed in the powder-magazines, etc. As I shall have none left after to-morrow, I went to the sorting-godown to draw up an account for the Governor.

There I heard that the Governor's peons had called Shaikh Ibrâhîm to him. About half an hour after Shaikh Ibrâhîm came to the sorting-godown and in the presence of Madanânda Pandit and others said, 'Yesterday Madame despatched my sepoys and her newly raised peons to attack the English, as she had heard that there were only a few at their battery. So we marched out. When we were half a mile from the battery, they (Madame's sepoys) threw all their grenades, fired their muskets at nothing, and fled. As it was dark, and as they fired in disorder, they hurt two of their own people. We said that powder and shot should not be wasted like this, but that, instead of running away, we should go close up to the battery and fire

standing, and that men should not run away like this. They went and told Madame what I had said and she told the Governor. So he sent for me and asked why I refused to fire upon the battery last night. I explained everything—as written above—and all remained silent, except Madame who spoke angrily about me. The Governor laughed, told us to be careful, and dismissed us. There were M. Duquesne, M. Bussy, M. Serre and one or two other officers there. So I took leave. Madame's peons have been wasting their grenades every day outside, firing 2,000 rounds and then going to Madame to say that they had thrown their grenades into the batteries, and that when the English came out, they fired by twenty files at a time until the enemy retreated. Madame believes whatever they say, and tells the Governor, expecting him to believe her. As they have been deceiving her till now, they did not like being with us. Moreover when I blamed them, they, fearing the Governor would hear of it, made haste to complain to Madame, and did their best to get sent out alone. But things did not fall out as they expected.' So saying, he went home. I too came home.

I hear that two cannon-balls this afternoon struck the Mission Church, and that many struck between the Valudâvûr gate and the Grass-market street. The enemy fired shells from eight till two o'clock at night. Then there was two inches of rain. They fired ten more shells as before from the east between half-past four and half-past five.

Kumaran and another, the runners from Chidambaram with the Kârikâl letters, brought letters to the Governor this morning, and two to me also, from Kandappan, one dated September 11 and the other a cadjan letter dated September 20, with 300 betel leaves. In the letter of September 11, Kandappan says that he has paid 1,000 pagodas to M. Le Riche on M. Desfresnes' account at the rate of 24[1] and obtained a receipt, and he asks for particulars as M. Le Riche is demanding payment.

Sunday, September 29.[2]—This morning I paid my respects to the Governor. I heard that one of the shells fired last night had struck the place where beams were piled up near the Governor's house and burst; that another fell near the Governor's and Madame's room on the road to the bastion near the dove-cot in the north-west angle of the Fort, and another in the Accountant's hall. Eight or ten shells thus struck the Fort. A shell also struck the house of Âdivarâha Chetti's younger brother, which is opposite to his own. Altogether 56 shells were fired from the east, falling in various houses and streets. Our people fired ten or fifteen shells at the enemy's bomb-ketch but without effect.

I was writing the paddy account the whole of the morning and came home at noon, intending to give it to the Governor this afternoon. I could not speak with him because, when he came out and we

[1] I.e., fanams per pagoda.

[2] 17th *Purattâsi*, *Vibhava*.

had paid our respects, he went at once into his room. I and ten Europeans (including M. Carvalho) followed him and waited outside, but a Topass came out and said that the Governor had gone to sleep. So the Europeans went home, and I wrote out the account and came home at noon.

I did not go out this afternoon. The six-pound and sixteen-pound shot of the English were falling thick in the town. People fear these shot though they did not fear the shells. They can see the latter rise like men climbing up a ladder, and then falling slowly with much noise; and so they can escape. But the cannon-balls make no sound. You only know a cannon has been fired when the shot strikes the mark; because of this and because of their force, people fear the shot. To-day the enemy fired eighteen-pound shot English which equals sixteen pounds French.

I hear that a cannon-ball passed along the Grande Rue de Madras across the Brâhman street, over the walls of the St. Paul's Church gardens, and struck the stone wall in the east. It has been carried to the Fort. Râjô Pandit says that two cannon-balls fell near the indigo-godown built by M. Lenoir (the former Governor), near the old Madras gate, and that they are being preserved. I heard M. de La Touche, the officer, say in the Fort that a shot had struck two Europeans on the battery near the Valudâvûr gate. I was with M. Bury when a Topass came with a cannon-ball and said

that it had struck and broken the sentry-box at the Madras gate.

Shaikh Ibrâhîm's men, posted on the ramparts and at the gates, came and said that the fire had destroyed the parapets which had fallen in, wounding those working on the walls, that as the shots came as swift and as invisible as the wind, the captains of the ramparts and the gates had been ordered to send every one off the ramparts except the sentinels and allow none to remain on the walls. So the sepoys, soldiers and the Tamil peons had been sent down. Many shots have fallen—one near the Stamping choultry[1], another in Arunâdri Ayyan's house in the Brâhman street, and a third in Sekappu Mudali's house in the Vellâla street. I have noted some of them as examples. About ten people have been injured. People have been alarmed ever since the great guns began to fire yesterday. They are terrified because they cannot hear the shots from afar, and fear to move about. So they can think of nothing else.

I think Mr. Boscawen has resolved to expend all his ammunition, like a man breaking his pot. When he left Europe, he promised the English king to take Pondichery, having been promised promotion as Admiral if he succeeded, even though he should spend thirty millions of livres—that is, thirty-seven lakhs of pagodas at the rate of 8 a pagoda; but he

[1] The place where cloth was stamped with the Company's mark.

was told that, if he failed, he would lose his head So he set out with 22 ships, 7,000 Europeans and supplies of cannon, muskets, mortars and other new and well-chosen things such as Europeans use. Now he has come 6,000 leagues—2,000 kâdams as we Tamils reckon it,—how can he, Mr. Rear-Admiral Boscawen, retire quickly? He must do his best; but for his head's sake, he must be praying day and night for a storm to arise so that he may have an excuse for his failure. On his way from Europe he thought that he could easily take Pondichery. But when he came, he saw the strength of the Fort and the army, and the valour of the general. He has been fighting now for forty days without success. For the last twenty-four days he has been entangled within the bound-hedge, building his battery, and unable to find a means of escape, although hopeless of victory. Now he eagerly looks for some excuse, such as the arrival of help and ships for the French, the bursting of a tempest or heavy rains, just as blindness will excuse a horse's stumbles. People are praying for God to take pity on them and drive away the English. I know not why the town should suffer so greatly. There are swarms of black mosquitos all over the town which bite people day and night. For twenty-six or twenty-seven years have I lived here; yet never before have I seen such mosquitos to devour the people. But now I see them and how can I describe their severity? M. de La Bourdonnais and

others who went to Madras said that they had seen the like at Madras. But there is this—the salt and other undrinkable water in the town has become good to drink. There is no need to fear for the town, though it has to undergo dangers. They say that there used to be many cobras; but now there are none.[1] The Governor is fortunate; evils mountain-high will melt like snow and all will live happily. And as he is destined to win great glory, which will shine throughout the whole country, Mr. Boscawen, who has come from Europe with 22 ships making with Mr. Griffin's ships already here 40 ships in all, will be defeated and the English lose their reputation. I think that this war arose so that Chevalier Monsieur Dupleix Governor-General, sent to exercise authority by the King of France, might defeat the English for all their army, and spread his glory throughout the country. The prudent will agree with me.

As there was a north wind to-day people say that if it rains as it did last night, the English army will depart. It is also said that the rain last night prevented our battery outside the walls from being manned, but that Europeans, sepoys and Coffrees will be ready to go to-night.

The English began to fire shells from the east at eight o'clock to-night, and they fired shot and shells from the west all day. Our people did not

[1] It is not clear whether this passage should be understood literally or metaphorically. I suppose the latter.

return the fire so fast as before, but fired rather slowly. Before eleven o'clock they fired seven or eight shells at the enemy's sloop. I shall hear to-morrow where the enemy's shells fired to-night fell.

Monday, September 30.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, Alagappa Mudali of the Choultry and Tiruchelvarâya Mudali came and said: 'M. Delarche sent for us and said that the Governor had ordered a hundred vallams[2] of paddy to be given us to be taken to the Mîrâpalli bazaars and sold to sepoys' women and poor people at the rate of two small measures a head and three measures [a fanam] the current price; and that we are to enter the Tamils' houses, find out how much paddy or rice there is, leave the owners a quarter, and purchase the rest at the current rate. To-morrow we are to take 400 vallams of the paddy at the Governor's house and sell it at the Mîrâpalli bazaars to-morrow morning at the rates written above, and others are to remove the paddy found in the town as written above and store it. We then asked for a European and sepoys to enter houses and remove the paddy as we were ordered.' I told them that, in a time of scarcity, people should help the poor with what grain they had.

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[1] 18th *Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

[2] The *vallam* is a local term for the measure known as the *markâl.* Vinson (p. 150) seems mistaken in stating the *vallam* to be a subdivision between the markâl and the measure.

Then I, M. Boyelleau, M. Desfresnes, and another (whose name I do not know) sat talking of various matters in the sorting-godown. M. Desfresnes said, 'As I asked you, you wrote to M. Le Riche, Commandant of Kârikâl, offering to pay him 1,000 pagodas on my account. I sent the letter to my man Kandappan there with another letter asking him to pay 1,000 pagodas to M. Le Riche and get a receipt. In a letter I received the day before yesterday, he says that he has paid 1,000 pagodas at the rate of 24 and obtained a receipt, but that M. Le Riche had complained that I had said 1,000 Pondichery pagodas, but that he had received only 1,000 pagodas reckoned at 24 [fanams per pagoda]; Kandappan answered that he would write to Pondichery and obtain orders and then pay any difference. M. Le Riche agreed and told the other to write; so he has written saying he has paid 1,000 pagodas at 24 fanams and asking whether this was right, or whether he should have paid at the rate of 320 rupees, or in pagodas of eight touch, and adding that he would do as I directed him.' I said that I had received no letters and ordered the amount to be paid at 320 rupees and the current rate of fanams and rupees, and a receipt to be got for 3,200 rupees or 1,000 pagodas.[1] He asked me to write

[1] The market rates of exchange between pagodas, rupees and fanams were constantly fluctuating; so that, unless the coin of payment was specified, the debtor might evade part of his debt. It was usual to specify the coin of payment.

to my man at Kârikâl about it. I agreed, saying I would send it by the Kârikâl runners, and asked him also to write to M. Le Riche.

I then took leave of M. Desfresnes, M. Boyelleau and the rest, and went to the Governor. I gave him the written abstract of the paddy account, showing that I had issued all the Company's paddy I had to the coolies and other labourers. He then told me about the paddy affair as Alagappa Mudali had already told me, and added, 'I have given orders to M. Delarche about this. He will deliver the paddy into the godown you point out. You may issue it according to the daily needs, and give me an account.' I then repeated what I had heard from Alagappa Mudali, that a sergeant was to be sent with the Choultry accountant. The Governor called a sergeant, M. Duvaisseau [?], told him what is written above, and ordered him to carry to the godown I should point out in the bazaar all the paddy that would be obtained in the town. He then turned to me and told me to send Choultry accountants and the European.

When he got up after taking his coffee, he asked me if no news had come about Chandâ Sâhib, and if it was true that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had sent some horsemen to capture Madame[1] 'Alî Dôst Khân. I said that Chandâ Sâhib's son was anxious and could not understand why no one came in with news,

[1] *Sic* in the Tamil.

and that he wanted passes for two of his men to go out. 'Very well,' he said. Just then Madanânda Pandit said that Badê Sâhib's people wanted passes for two men belonging to Mîr Ghulâm Husain. The Governor replied that that might be done later, and then drove out to inspect the town, with M. Law, M. Serre, M. Robert, M. d'Auteuil, Father Cœurdoux and the Governor's writer, M. Bertrand. After the Governor had gone out, I went to the nut-godown to tell Alagappa Mudali and Tiruchelvarâya Mudali the Governor's orders, and directed them to go with the Sergeant and the peons. Then I went to my lodging in Pâlayappa Mudali's godown, having resolved not to go to my house, as shots were falling all round it, but to remain in the godown all the afternoon, take my bath there, and send for my food and eat there; so I ordered the servants to be ready there with water and other things.

I heard this morning that the shots from the four cannon of the English had struck a European in the shoulder near the Valudâvûr gate, and had carried off the head of one of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's grass-cutters as he was watching people going out of the Madras gate, on which all the other grass-cutters who had gone out came in again. I heard this from these people themselves. I also hear that the enemy have fired a hundred rounds of shot and shell which have been falling in the Chetti street, Vellâla street, Brâhman street, and even as far

as the Great street. A sixteen-pound shot struck Chidambaram Pillai's house on the west of mine; it was picked up and shown to me. About fifty shells were fired last night and nearly all fell as usual in the town.

The shot and shells fired by the English are being carried to the Fort, and given to M. Cornet or the master-gunner, who pay a fanam for each shot and a rupee for each shell. I have got fragments of a shell for which I paid a cash or two.

This afternoon the enemy fired shot without number. They are nearly all sixteen-pounders and struck the houses and the walls west of the tobacco-godown, and north of Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house. Five or six people have been killed. Last night the sepoys were ordered to march and attack the enemy's battery as soon as the rain ceased, but though there was no rain they did not go out.

An English deserter, a dragoon, has been entertained. The English fired about fifty shells to-night from their sloop in the roads

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OCTOBER 1748.

Tuesday, October 1.[1]—As it is Vijaya Dasami, I sent word to Dêvambâ Mudali to perform pûja for the weapons and account books, and then went to the Fort. There I heard that the pûja had been performed. While I was there, the Governor came into the sorting-godown; so I went and paid my respects to him. He asked why such a small quantity of paddy had been obtained yesterday. I replied, 'They only took the paddy out of one house; there will be more in the others of course; and they will search them and take all the paddy they find.' He said, 'I hear that paddy has been buried in the houses; so tell them to search and find it.'—'Very well, Sir,' I said.

He then asked if Chandâ Sâhib's men had brought no news from outside. I replied, 'His people cannot get out; but I do not know if any coming from him have been seized and made prisoners. They are asking passes to get out.' He then told M. Bertrand to write passes for five Muhammadans—Mîr Ghulâm Husain's people, Badê Sâhib's people, and Chandâ Sâhib's people, as they requested yesterday. He brought them accordingly, and when the Governor had signed them, he gave them me, saying, 'Chandâ Sâhib's son is going

[1] 19th Purattâsi, Vibhava.

out. Give your people the passes, and tell them to escort these men beyond the town gates and return. And tell the Nayinâr to inquire about Chandâ Sâhib's and Badê Sâhib's sons.' I said, 'I told the Nayinâr about it 25 days ago. How can I describe the fear of Chandâ Sâhib's son and Badê Sâhib's women? They could not keep still the whole night,' and I added all I could to describe their terror. He replied, 'They are stupid people. For the last month the enemy has been trying to capture the Fort, but look here—shells are being fired from both sides; shot is being fired from the west; but how many have been killed? How many wounded? Ten or fifteen? Some have struck and injured the houses, but that matters little. While of the enemy, more than 1,000 have been killed or wounded or have died of disease. And besides their losses of Europeans, many Carnatic sepoys have been killed; but I do not know how many. Many soldiers, captains, majors, officers and other big people have fallen into our hands, and in their defeats others have been wounded and killed. Mr. Boscawen grew so angry with an Engineer from Europe, that the latter fled to Cuddalore.[1] That shows they have got the worst of it. Besides if the new-comers had camped near the beach to the east, they could easily have landed their men,

[1] Boscawen's engineers seem to have been beneath contempt. Boscawen declares that they were too timid to reconnoitre, and could not erect proper batteries.

provisions and munitions of war; and besides would have had good camping-ground. Even in the heaviest rains, the ground is never heavy; and if one or two ships had gone, it would not have affected them. But instead, they have camped to the west where it is difficult to get their stores. We know what they are before they have gone a league, and can send to seize them. Whenever they need anything from the ships, or wish to send anything on board, they need an escort of 1,000 or 500 men. So how can men be sent to fight in all directions? Besides if it rains for four days together, how can they remain there amongst the swamps and water-courses? So they have chosen their landing-place ill. God alone could have made them camp there; no one could possibly have advised them so. God blesses us, and so their cavalry did not land to the north but to the west of our town.'

I replied, 'Mr. Boscawen must have been obliged to land and encamp on the west by the orders of the King of England when he sent him with a squadron to attack us. The King of France and the Company knew what was needed to defeat the English and Mr. Boscawen's strong army and squadron sent to attack Pondichery; and they are to be blamed for having failed to send you help. So be it. The glory you have won without help in defeating the English King's squadron, reinforced by troops from Fort St. David, has reached Delhi,

and shines all over India and the kingdoms of Europe like a thousand suns. When it is so, why should God give Mr. Boscawen prudence to camp on the north by the sea-shore? I do not know how the King of France and the Company can reward you for your services. I do not know how the King of France and the French people, whose glory you have rendered eternal, can reward you.' The Governor said, 'Well, Ranga Pillai, I have sweated for it.' I answered, 'Would others get fame, though they sweated a hundred times as much? By your sweat, you will win fame that will shine throughout the Empire; but others might toil a hundred times as much, and yet not escape the troubles, because their fate is such. God has made you labour, but only to make you rejoice.' When I spoke thus, M. d'Auteuil, M. Serre and M. Desfresnes said, 'Quite true, Ranga Pillai,' and the Governor praised me, and said, 'You are very clever, Ranga Pillai.'

He then told me that he had been very angry with the Company's merchants this morning. 'Why, Sir?' I asked. He replied, 'They came and asked for leave to go out because they were afraid of the cannon-balls.' I replied, 'I did not know that. If I had, I would have prevented them.' He continued, 'Would they approach me without your knowledge? Do I not know all about that? Would they come without your having told them to? Do they approach any one without your

permission? Their wives and children have gone. They have sent away their goods and money. If men are so frightened, what must women and children be like? I know their evil minds. If they come to me again about it, I will not excuse them.' I said I would tell them not to come again.

He then asked when the Tamil astrologers said the English would retire. I replied, 'All said that the English would retire after October 12, that there would be signs of it from October 3, that the town would be in great trouble up to September 25, but afterwards it would be happy. According to these predictions, our people returned after a victory on Thursday, September 26. From October 3, we shall win every day and the English will lose.' The Governor turned to the Europeans there and said, 'The Tamils are rarely deceived, and their sayings come true.' M. Desfresnes said that it was the same in Malabar.

Just then six fisher-boys came carrying by a pole a shell which the English had fired last night and which they had found on the beach. M. Cornet had it examined, ordered it to be taken to the magazine, and a rupee given as usual to the bearers. The Governor who was sitting in the sorting-godown saw it and ordered it to be brought to him. He said, 'Ranga Pillai, this weighs 220 pounds without the powder. In Europe they often fire shells weighing 500 pounds without the powder. What is this compared with those? Do not suppose

that this is the biggest. They fall with a force of 21,000 pounds, and break through even the strongest vaults. One does not need such large shells to destroy roofs and arches in these parts, but 240 pounds are enough for them.' As a great ghee barrel was being carried to the Fort, he ordered it to be brought and showed it to me, saying that the shells would be one-and-a-half times bigger than that. He then ordered it to be taken away.

Then M. d'Auteuil said, 'In Europe I have seen shells weighing 550 pounds. You would be astonished to see a European battle. You would see that this is nothing in comparison.'

When we were talking about these matters, M. Desfresnes said to the Governor, 'Madame La Morandière has died;[1] Captain Passy, who lost his son at the battle of Ariyânkuppam, has been ailing ever since and died to-day;[2] and M. Chevalier, an officer, has also died of disease.'

When they were talking about them, the Governor said, 'I hear that Muttu Mallâ Reddi has been assisting the English, delivering to them our people who had gone out, and himself seizing, beating or otherwise ill-using them. Is this true?' I replied, 'Did I not tell you before? When I told you about his plundering my villages, and the trouble he was causing our townspeople who had

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 27.

[2] The son was killed in the explosion at Paradis' battery. (*Collection Historique*, p. 266.)

fled in alarm, you said that, if God would only end the war, you would see that he lost his head. How can I describe his ill-deeds?' When I had related certain of his deeds, the Governor said, 'He is stupid enough not to understand his own interests. There is no doubt about it.' He said all he could to show this, and added, 'The Reddis of Alisapâkkam and the cultivators of Ariyânkuppam all live under his protection and give him news of what happens here. All shall suffer severely.' I said, 'Sir, I too have heard so. If such foolish and presumptuous people be not punished, others will say, "Why should we be punished for doing the like?" And if anything were done, they would try to find shelter behind similar excuses. So they must be taught prudence.' He answered curtly, that he could not endure such people. The Europeans present said that people who proved treacherous in times of war should never be forgiven, and that I need not fear this man's being let off, even if he offered a lakh of pagodas.

When we were thus talking, M. d'Auteuil told the Governor that three shots had struck my house. The Governor asked where I was living. I said I was living in my cloth-godown, east of Muchiyan's and west of Sadayappa Mudali's house, in the Great Street near the Valudâvûr gate. He then asked if I had my wife and children with me. I said, 'Yes.' He then asked where Pedro's and Lazar's wives were. I said that I had heard they were living at Âlambarai. When M. Serre asked whom we were

talking about, the Governor answered that the one was the wife of the former courtier and the other the wife of interpreter Lazar, Pedro's brother, and that they had been the first to leave the town with their goods. He also told him about other matters. He then said, 'Why don't you go and live in Mîrâpalli street, as shot are coming from both sides?' And M. Desfresnes exclaimed, 'Are you not afraid of shells? Are they not falling near your place?' I said, 'Firstly, I have the protection of God, the Ruler of all things; secondly, can shells come anywhere near me when I live under the protection of the Governor's great favour? So I live without fear, in the midst of falling shells. When I had talked with him for some time, he said, 'As your house has been struck, you had better go cautiously and inquire about it.' I said I would do so and, having taken leave of him, I went to my lodging at the cloth-godown.

I then called the Nayinârs who were quarrelling instead of attending to the affairs of the town, and said, 'Madame intends to deprive you of the poligar's place and appoint Christians; and in fact you have been neglecting the affairs of the town, and I have had to see to them myself. I should have thought that brothers could live without quarrelling and beating each other; but as you cannot, you will lose your hereditary right to guard the town. Those who are waiting for an opportunity will find it easy to attack you.' So I made them friends. Then I

added, 'I told the Governor that Chandâ Sâhib's son and Badê Sâhib's son might escape by accompanying the sepoys and horsemen who go out on night duty; so he ordered me to appoint suitable men to watch; you will certainly be hanged in case of a mishap.' I repeated this ten times to Karuttambi Nayinâr, Periyanna Nayinâr and Vîrâ Nâyakkan, and so dismissed them.

I then told Periyanna Nayinâr to take five or six Muhammadans and go out with passes to M. Dancy.[1] Then I came home.

Yesterday the English fired as usual forty-eight shells from the bomb-ketch in the roads. I hear they fell near the Engineer's tank and my nut-godown near the Fort, but hurt no one. Before evening they fired from the west numberless shot and shell—at least five or six hundred, which fell from the Valudâvûr gate and the Corner bastion by the Oil-merchants' street to the Madras gate. From the Great Street by the Madras gate to the Uppâru river this side of Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house, the Mission Church west of it and the Vellâla and the Brâhman streets—there is not an inch that has not been struck by shot. Though no shells were fired, every house was struck by one or two shots, and mine indeed by four. Some fell between the Perumâl Temple street and the Weavers' street, north of Guntûr Ravanappa Chetti's and Madanânda Pandit's houses. Two or

[1] The Commandant of artillery who had been sent out to raise new batteries from which to disturb the English. (*Collection Historique*, p. 292.)

three struck St. Paul's Church. One struck the bastion by the Fort ditch near the dove-cot. Two or three men at the Madras gate and on the Corner bastion by the oil-mongers' street, occupied by 'Alî Khân, were wounded and some are said to have been killed. Our people fired six or seven hundred shot and shell, and they must have injured as many or even more.

When this evening I was leaving the Fort by the east gate to come home, and was near the place where the boats are drawn up, Periyanna Mudali said, 'There are five ignorant devils in the town with Madame, who complain to her that you only send men out for the English to seize; and if you send any one out, you are suspected of sending out news. And as people give your wife twenty betel leaves[1] not to be sent out, she says that I also am one of them and should do the same.'[2] He added, 'Madame would accuse a man even for chewing betel, such is the injustice here; we must be careful.' I came home telling him that God was just.

Wednesday, October 2.[3]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I heard that the Governor had gone to the hospital to see the patients there. So I went and stayed at the nut-godown till the Governor's peon called me. When I asked who was wanted, he

[1] I.e., a trifle.

[2] The Tamil of the foregoing passage is abnormally loose and obscure. The translation is offered under reserve.

[3] *20th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

said he wanted me and M. Delarche. Thinking that he wished to see me about the paddy complaints, I went to the Fort. Alaga Pillai came also. The day before yesterday, he had been given four hundred valiams of the Governor's paddy to be sold at the Mîrâpalli bazaars at one great measure and a half for the fanam. He had come to say that the paddy had been all sold on September 30, and to ask to whom he should pay the proceeds. We paid our respects, and the Governor said, 'I hear that they have only found in the town one garse and 200 markâls of paddy. Is this a joke? Are the Choultry accountants amusing themselves?' I replied, 'As the Choultry people[1] said last night that the paddy would be buried underground or hidden somehow, I told them to search as usual and store it. There are people with stocks to last them four, six or even twelve months. They know who they are. They must send for them, ask what paddy they have, and threaten them so that they agree to give up their houses, to be beaten and fined, if they are proved to have more than they declare. Then each will tell the truth out of fear. I have arranged to send ten persons to as many places to search for paddy and take three-quarters of it. They will do so from to-day, and the paddy in store will be found.' When I said this, the Governor turned to Alaga Pillai and said, 'If you liked, you could find all the paddy in

[1] Reading *peshkâr* for *yêshkara*.

the town. But you are ruining the matter because you want to make money out of it. You shall lose your ears. A European would manage it properly. Wait till M. Delarche comes.' Thereupon Alaga Pillai asked to whom he should pay the proceeds of the 400 markâls of paddy. The Governor ordered it to be paid to his writer Ranga Pillai; so he went to pay it and I waited. Then M. Delarche came. The Governor said, 'Summon the paddy merchants and cultivators and others in the town who may have one or two months' stock of grain, and make them declare how much paddy they have; then test the ground, and those who have made false returns shall lose their paddy and their houses, pay a fine of 120 pagodas, and receive 50 stripes. Make this public, get the people's signatures, and do whatever is necessary to get a stock of paddy.' So saying, he dismissed M. Delarche. He said to me, 'You too had better go and look to it.' I agreed; and we went to my nut-godown, sent for the Choultry accountants, and told them to bring the various people to my nut-godown at three o'clock with six talaiaris. M. Delarche said that he would be there, and asked me to be there too. I said I would, and came home.

The English fired yesterday numberless shells and shot from two batteries on the west. From one shot and shell descended like a storm of rain on the bastion by the Oil-merchants' street and as far as the streets north of Muttayya Pillai's garden, the

Madras gate and the Chucklers' bastion near Madanânda Pandit's house. Three or four women and children were killed, but that was all. Shot and shell also rained west of the tobacco-godown, south of the Company's godown, north of Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house, round the Valudâvûr gate, the Bazaar street, my street, and the Brâhman street, piercing the walls. Not a house is uninjured, but no one was killed and little damage was done. Many shot were fired in the direction of the Mission Church and my house. They fired till evening as they did yesterday.

At three o'clock I went to the nut-godown and wrote a declaration that I have a garse and a half of paddy and rice, and signed it; and then others signed their statements. When all have done so, and the total quantities are known, I will write the details. I stayed there till evening, and sent word to those who had not attended to come to-morrow and sign their declarations. Then M. Delarche went home, saying that he would come back to-morrow morning. All went home, and I also.

Our people have raised two new batteries outside, and have been firing the cannon mounted upon them. The guns and mortars on the ramparts round the Fort also fired as usual—at least five or six hundred rounds. The enemy also fired from the east and west between 150 and 160 shot and shell. The shells burst in the air, and twenty

or thirty fragments would fly half a mile or a mile. The pieces whistled as they flew, like a kite flying in the air. One shell struck Mîr Ghulâm Husain's gate, another struck the Governor's kitchen-house, and three or four St. Paul's Church and gardens. Others fell near the tobacco-godown and the stable in the Vellâla street Another struck a Topass woman's house near the Pillaiyâr temple beside the Manakkulam tank, and broke her legs. Another burst over the street where Sêshayyangâr's house stands. Only two or three men were killed, but the houses were damaged. As shells were being fired both ways, people were much inconvenienced at night; but as they have become used to them in the last month, they have lost seven-eighths of their fear, though there are some who have only lost a half or a quarter. The Europeans, I think, are a hundred times more alarmed than the Tamils. All of them fear the shells. Such is the effect of the shells which the English fire daily. Many would have been wounded and killed if such had been God's will; but by His grace it has been otherwise, and in spite of all the bombardment, there has been little loss. God's will is too great for man to comprehend, as all the Shâstras say. Is it not true? That was why many of the great and wise renounced worldly pleasures for solitary meditation. All know this.

An old man, who has been a mutton-butcher for the last thirty years, has been seized for selling

betel leaves. When he was questioned, he said that he had followed the sepoys when they went out yesterday to fight, and gathered betel leaves in the gardens along with the sepoys, that the sepoys whom he had accompanied had generally bought mutton from him and that was why he had gone, gathered leaves and sold them at 16 leaves the fanam, and that twenty or thirty sepoys knew of his going. In spite of that, being suspected of being an English spy, he was given 200 stripes, chained by the neck, and made to carry earth. People fear such injustice more than the plague of English shot and shell. The whole town trembles. How can I describe the intensity of their fear? As all suffer more and more every day, they cry to God for the ending of their fever, for even the new-born child cries that He alone can protect us. When will God hear their bitter complaints?

I hear that 500 sepoys and 50 Coffrees are ready to march out to-night, advancing from the Uppâru river under cover of the guns mounted there, in order to throw the enemy into confusion and spike their guns. I also hear that a reinforcement of 300 soldiers is to be stationed at the Madras gate to be used if needed. Madame's peons have been going out as far as the bound-hedge for the last four days, but no sepoys.

At three o'clock this afternoon a big 18-pounder burst, killing four or five soldiers, an officer (whose name I do not know) and others.

Thursday, October 3.[1]—I heard the following this morning:—

The sepoys who went out last night could not attack the English batteries; so they moved northwards to the bound-hedge and there found the English moving to and fro, and heard the noise of men dragging gun-carriages. They concluded that something was being brought up; so, lying hid behind the bound-hedge, they sent men to reconnoitre. The latter reported that cannon were being moved on the big carriages brought from Europe. Supposing that cannon were being brought up, they watched to see whether the English were few or many. At day-break, the latter were carrying the powder and shot landed from the ships. There were two English 24-pounders (which equal twenty-two French pounds and a half) with the arms of the King of England on them, and said to have been specially cast and sent out for the war. These two guns were dismounted, chained to the bottom of the carriage and drawn by a fine rope made of horse-hair which neither hurts nor breaks but is very flexible. This is passed over the breast of those who draw the carriage instead of being held in their hands. One of these carriages is great and the other small.[2] When our sepoys and Coffrees

[1] 21st *Purattâsi, Vibhava*.

[2] Boscawen writes of this incident, that two 24-pounders were lost just after having been landed, 'on carriages proper for being carried up to camp'. (Boscawen to Corbet, October 17, 1748. *P.R.O. Ad* 1–160.) The sortie was under the command of La Tour. (*Collection Historique*, p. 313.)

heard that these carriages were being moved forward they attacked and fired their guns. The English were but few, and fired only once, wounding two or three men and killing two horses. An English master-gunner who rode on a white horse dropped and the horse was wounded twice; and 10 or 15 of the enemy were mortally wounded. The Governor, hearing that our people were returning with six English prisoners and the guns and carriages, sent out lascars, coolies and bearers. The English troops and their coolies fled; and our people returned to the Madras gate in great joy, shouting *Vive le roi*, and dragging the gun-carriages with them.

When the Company bought Kârikâl, M. Dumas got a chased plate and cup silver-gilt as a present for the Râjâ of Tanjore. But as they were never given him, they were kept and it was said they were worth 400 pagodas. There was also a piece, 20 yards long, of gold brocade [?]. The Governor at first meant to give these to 'Abd-ul-rahmân. I do not know what he had heard that he should have prepared such a present; but he must have heard something different later, for he changed his mind, and gave only six yards of gold brocade worth ten or twelve [ ] together with two yards of two-coloured broadcloth, rose-water and pân supârî. 'Alî Khân was also given two yards of two-coloured broadcloth. Eight or ten officers were also given two yards of broadcloth

each. One of the sepoy chiefs who was going angrily away was given a double-barrelled gun and two yards of broadcloth. The sepoys were given 700 rupees and sent away.

'Abd-ul-rahmân was not pleased with his presents; neither was 'Alî Khân.[1] A sepoy who brought an English musket and bayonet was given eight rupees, and the musket was delivered to M. Cornet. Moreover our people came back beating a kettle-drum which they had taken, and bringing some Telugu prisoners. Jagannâtha Ayyan, 'Abd-ul-rahmân's servant, was at the Fort, when the present was brought out and when M. Cornet sent it back to the godown; so he told 'Abd-ul-rahmân. The latter was much offended and went away disheartened. I think that the presents first brought out were put back because the Governor had heard an account different from what he had heard at first. At first he may have been told that large reinforcements had come up, that our men had fought with one of the English commanders, and killed three or four hundred, and that when two or three hundred had been killed, the master-gunner (the man on a white horse) had been sent to command; so he resolved to give the first present. But afterwards he must have heard that there was only a small force, that only ten or fifteen had been killed

[1] This by no means corroborates the account in the *Relation du Siége* which says that the 'troupes noires' were greatly encouraged by the rewards they received. (*Collection Historique*, p. 315.)

and wounded, that they fled at our first fire, and that our people carried off the guns before the English had heard the news or sent help; so he changed the first presents for others of smaller value. I do not know the Governor's real intentions; but the various persons did not take their presents contentedly; nor did he seem pleased to bestow them; indeed he gave them grudgingly only to allay the sepoys' grumbling, as it seemed to me.

Then came Madame's peons with the tiger flag, under lame Savarimuttu and Ponnan; they were given two yards each and 150 rupees were distributed among the peons.

When I joyfully salaamed to the Governor after observing this sight, he said, 'Look here, Ranga Pillai, do you see how matters are going?' I replied, 'Now we are glad to see two guns and their carriages brought in; but in a few days we shall see the capture of Mr. Boscawen, the new Rear-Admiral.'—'God grant it,' he said, smiling.—'Surely He will,' I said, 'and you will win greater glory.' He replied, 'Ranga Pillai, see how dark my body and face have grown. Do you know how much trouble I have been put to?' I replied, 'Even though your family should spend ten crores of money, would you gain such glory as you now have? Who would mind a little trouble now? You have won so much glory because you have laboured so.' M. Bussy, M. Robert, M. Serre and M. Duquesne who stood by laughed and agreed with me. Then the Governor

sat down to dinner, and I took leave, getting home at half-past twelve.

I heard that early this morning two great guns which our people were firing had burst and that nine or ten Europeans had been killed or wounded. This morning I saw four of the wounded men being carried to the hospital.

The two cannon and their carriages were taken to the Madras gate, but one of the carriages was too big to pass through. So it was left there. Another carriage was taken out and the gun was put on it and posted east of the Fort. The carriage which could not pass through was taken to pieces, brought into the Fort, put together again and then placed east of the Fort. They say that the English brought from Europe only three carriages for their guns; and that as two are here, they cannot move their great guns, and this is the beginning of their defeat and of the French success. When the cannon were being brought in followed by a large crowd, the English fired from their battery at the paracheri. A shot took off the head of a short Maratha named Mrityunjaya Nâyakkan who came with Shaikh Hasan from Mahé. All say that he was brave in attack and kind-hearted. Only his trunk was found; and the jemadar was very grieved at his death. Moreover when the Governor came from Bengal, he brought with him five or six half-caste boys. One was named Lorenzo, short and dark of skin, and 25 or 26 years old. The Governor liked him better than

all the rest because he was a skilful musician. He used to stand behind the Governor, holding his roundel, whenever the latter drove out. When he went to see the cannon brought in, a shot broke his thigh. He will die unless his leg is cut off at the thigh, and unless he is destined to live longer. He was taken to the hospital.

The English fired shot and shells from the east and west as yesterday. Our people also fired as before. Nine or ten houses were damaged and five or six people—men, women and children—were killed. How can I write of everything? I have only noted the number of the dead.

The Governor only does as his wife tells him, and does nothing by himself, even in giving or withholding presents. His authority has ceased and Madame controls all.

I and M. Delarche stayed till evening at the nut-godown, taking the signatures of those who have declared their paddy and rice. M. Delarche went home in the evening and then I also left.

Two of Madame's spies visited me last night at Srînivâsa Chetti's house near the Chetti street and said, 'Madame is very angry with you. She has been urging us to accuse you; but we have answered that we shall be punished if we cannot prove our charges face to face with you; that we can exaggerate things mountain-high if there be but a little truth, but that otherwise we can say nothing. But she still worries us to find out something against you,

and is always wanting us to say that you have sent secret news to the English. But no one can accuse you, for you have always behaved uprightly. Madame's anger would have been very dangerous, had there been the least occasion.' They gave me about 400 betel leaves, saying that Madame trusted them so much that they could cut off the head of any one they disliked. I replied, 'Do I not know all that happens? As you have remembered me and brought me betel leaves, I will reward you to-morrow or the day after. Bring me more leaves if you can, and tell me all the news.' So saying, I dismissed them, and they went away. Chidambara Mudali sent them to me. The one called Muttu formerly served under Ariyappa Mudali and, having stolen something, ran away. The other is Mannâdan. They told me many things but I have only written briefly.

When 'Alî Khân and 'Abd-ul-rahmân went to the Governor this morning on their return from the fight, they complained much, even in Madame's presence, saying, 'This is the second or third time that the French have spoilt our attacks by running away. Even to-day, your dragoons fled when we were attacking, in spite of our signalling to them with a flag to come and help us. What will the enemy think? and what can be effected so? Though we sent word three or four times to M. d'Auteuil asking why such cowards should come into the field, yet in spite of all this they fled. How can people run away thus? In future let us have none of your

Europeans. Give us their horses and see what victories we will win.' When 'Alî Khân and 'Abd-ul-rahmân said this three or four times, the Governor, the other Europeans and Madame concealed their feelings, knowing that nothing could be done, and leaving this topic they began to talk of other things.

The Governor then turned to the Coffrees saying angrily, 'Why did only 30 of you go when I ordered 100?' Then he dismissed them, telling them to return in the afternoon.

The enemy have only fired about 50 shells from the east and west; and they fell in the houses and streets as usual; but I have no room to write the places, except that they struck only the houses of the poor.

Friday, October 4.[1]—I and M. Delarche went to the nut-godown, and, as we were receiving paddy declarations from the people we had sent for, a peon came saying that the Governor wanted me. So I went to the Fort, having explained everything to M. Delarche. The Governor was in his room, with Mîr Yâdgâr, Muhammad Saiyid (Murtazâ' Alî Khân's man[2]), and Jemadar Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, who were all seated. Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân had in his hand a Persian letter which he had received from Muhammad Razâ who has gone to live at Vellore. Abbâyi, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân's dubâsh, was there as it was being interpreted by a dark Muhammadan

[1] *22nd Purattâsi, Vibhava.* [2] Reading *Murtasâli* for *Sâli.*

(whose name I do not know) in Madame's service; Mîr Yâdgâr read it before the Governor in Hindustani as the letter was being interpreted. I salaamed to the Governor and stood waiting. It was interpreted as follows:—'Mahfuz Khân has marched against Periya Ayyâ, the Pandâri of Vêttavalam, seized and beheaded him. Before his execution, he confessed that Mîr Asad had given him money to murder the Nawâb Sâhib, and that this was why he had defended the fortress and resisted. On this, 'Abd-ul-jalîl consulted the Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, about seizing the jaghirs and killahs of Mîr Asad, and asked for guns, shells and other munitions of war, and a few men to take the fort of Valudâvûr. Mr. Boscawen replied that he would do so if 'Abd-ul-jalîl's people helped to take Pondichery. So 'Abd-ul-jalîl is going to Nawâb Mahfuz Khân at Gingee. Though the English have sent people to Nawâb Mahfuz Khân, and he proposes to help them, the poligars of Trichinopoly have plundered the country and are taking it for themselves; they even propose to take the fort. So he has to take care of himself, and will stay at Gingee without helping the English. Neither will Nawâb Murtazâ 'Alî Khân send horse and sepoys, as the latter fear powder and shot. If you wish, I will speak to him and write. I am ready to give my life to procure your success.' The Governor listened to this as it was interpreted and I heard it as well. Then Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân said to me, 'This is a letter I have received

from Muhammad Razâ whom I sent to Arcot. Read it, Ranga Pillai. The letter came wrapped up in wax-cloth, that is why it is soiled.' He then told Mîr Yâdgâr to give me the letter. I gave it to Madanânda Pandit, who was standing behind me, to read. He did so, and when he had read it, it appeared that they had told the Governor two things not found in the letter. One was that 'Abd-ul-jalîl had gone to see the English about taking Valudâvûr and that he was going to depart as he had not succeeded; all the letter said was that 'Abd-ul-jalîl meant to go away and Valudâvûr was not mentioned. The other thing was, that there was nothing about Murtazâ 'Alî Khân. It said that when the horsemen and sepoys were spoken to, they were afraid of firearms and cannon, and men fighting not with swords; but that he would go to Arcot if a letter were written, and, having spoken with the horsemen and sepoys, would write what they said. Though neither name nor abode was mentioned, they reported they were written in the letter. The Governor said to me, 'I hear that 'Abd-ul-jalîl like a fool has been asking the English for help and is going here and there like a monkey.' I replied, 'Do we not know 'Abd-ul-jalîl's foolishness?' I do not know what Mîr Yâdgâr and Muhammad Saiyid told the Governor on their first coming, except that they asked to be sent back as they had been ordered to return. The Governor told them that they could watch the fighting for five or six days and then

depart. My arrival and my different interpretation of the letter turned their faces pale as the Governor was listening to me. I think they feared that they would be found out if the Governor questioned me about the contents of the letter. I cannot describe their faces. All the blood left their cheeks, and they looked like dead men. They are Razâ 'Alî Khân's men and perhaps they were afraid that I might tell the Governor that they had run away in fear of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân.[1] They have been telling the Governor that they had written to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, who had promised to send one or two thousand horse and four or five thousand foot. I suppose the Governor believed them when they boasted so. Even Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân has written answers and read them to the Governor, so that I might not know what was said. Instead of writing Persian letters to the Governor, they write to each other and get them sealed and send them off. Similarly, they have hindered the settlement of Gôvinda Râo's case which the Governor had agreed to settle. Madame spoke to the Second and had Gôvinda Râo imprisoned, for making a claim to 1,050 pagodas instead of 1,000 as his half-share in the Manilla company in M. Dumas' time, but nothing more was said about it, as the Governor had given a decision in the matter.

[1] Razâ 'Alî Khân was elder brother of Murtazâ 'Alî. In 1740 he had been in possession of Vellore, but was turned out by Chandâ Sâhib and Murtazâ 'Alî.—*Madras Country Correspondence*, 1740, p. 32. In 1748 Murtazâ 'Alî was fearing an attack from his brother.—*Madras Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 49.

Fearing that the Governor might see the double meaning of the letter, they took their leave hastily, saying that they would do whatever he ordered. They then went and asked the Muhammadan who interpreted the letter to get two of the Governor's Persian books for them to read, as they had nothing to do. The Governor told his writer, M. Bertrand, to let them have any two books they pleased, on condition that they would return them as soon as they had read them. M. Bertrand told the Muhammadans outside, and they then departed; but any one can see their terror since they were afraid to go in and ask in person, though the imprudent and foolish may not understand however often it is explained to them. As the Governor did not ask me what the letter said, or whether the contents were true, I did not say anything about it.

The Governor then asked me why I had not furnished 'Abd-ul-rahmân with grain. I replied, 'It is true that I have some grain which he has asked me for. I told him that I had sold some to the bazaar-men in the town, and they were selling him grain both before and after they bought any from me. I said I would sell it him at the same rate and he said that he had spoken to you about it.' The Governor said, 'As he has asked you for grain, don't fix any price now, but sell it to him and accept what he offers.' I continued, 'Of what use are goods if they are not supplied for the Company's benefit? I will do as you tell me.' He

said nothing more and went into Madame's room. 'Abd-ul-rahmân, having taken leave, went away. I did the same and went to the nut-godown; but as M. Delarche had left, I came home.

The Governor formerly said to me, 'The sepoys complain that their women don't get even as much as beggars; and they cry out that their families should be allowed to depart, as they are dying of hunger, and daily rice is issued only to the sepoys themselves.' He then sent for M. Delarche and said, 'Search all the houses for paddy, and store it in a godown, leaving the owners only enough to live on. I will give 400 markâls of my paddy. Sell it in the retail bazaars at three small measures for a fanam.'

One Monday, eleven days ago, the Governor sent for me and said that he would give me a list of the 200 and odd workpeople employed under the officers, captains, etc., that I should issue to each a large measure of paddy daily from my stock at the rate of three large measures a fanam, and that I was not to make any difficulties, as he should order my paddy to be sold at the same price as his. He should have told me to sell mine at three small, not three large, measures. Five or six days after he had ordered me to sell at three large measures, he sold his at three small measures. I suppose he will be equally just in this matter of the grain. I should have answered differently had he been any one else. But as I must obey the Governor's orders, however unjust, I came away with closed mouth.

Even if some complained, the Governor should desire, in a time of troubles, that people should have great store of paddy, and if he would buy it at their price, every one would be bringing it in from every possible place in the hope of gain. Then no one would be in want. But instead, as he has to give it away to the sepoy's women, he orders his own paddy to be sold at three small measures, whereas he orders me to sell at three large measures; and also I am to give grain for 'Abd-ul-rahmân's people at whatever rate he likes, and say nothing even if he pays me nothing. I wonder why the Governor gives such orders; I can only suppose he desires to prosper though others may be ruined, make no profit and have no money. He cares nothing for others' difficulties or sufferings; he gives such orders because he has never dwelt in the land of sympathy. He compelled me to fix a low price at the time of harvest so that he might buy up all that was brought in, and make six or seven for one. Some of mine was bought at two measures and a half and some at three or three and a half. Although writing cannot affect the matter, I write so that the Governor's justice may be known. This is not the first time he has done such a thing; he is always doing so. But I have written in detail so that it may be known that his orders do not befit such a time of troubles.

When I left the Governor, M. Cornet took a paper out of his pocket, and holding it in his hand, said, 'Ranga Pillai, I do not mind who knows; the

Company's business must be attended to; I have here a list of those who possess undeclared paddy, and I have shown it to the Governor. He said M. Delarche was to examine into the matter. Where is he?' I replied, 'He will come soon as it is nearly twelve. It must be shown and explained to him. If people have really concealed their paddy, instead of declaring it, it must be taken without payment and they must be fined or punished. Please show the paper, that I may see who they are.' He showed me the paper accordingly. Those named were Alaga Pillai, Muruga Pillai, Tiruchelvarâya Mudali, Mâriyappa Mudali's son, pearl-broker Nallatambi Mudali, Ranga Pillai and other dishonest persons. It was also said that each owned two godowns of paddy. I said that, if on inquiry they were found to be guilty, the owners would be fined or punished; but, if not, those who wrote and gave the paper should suffer the like. I asked him to make proper inquiries, and, having taken my leave, I came home.

One of the shells fired from the west struck the old Company's [godown?] and burst but killed no one. Some shell and a few shot reached the Chetti street. Six or seven men have been killed. To-night the enemy fired ten shells from the east; and altogether they have fired but little to-day; and our people have done the same.

Husain Khân Sâhib has written to Badê Sâhib's wife; and her adopted son, Qâdir 'Alî Khân, related his letter to Madanânda Pandit, who repeated it to

me as follows :—'Periya Ayyâ Pandâri of Vêttavalam has been captured by the treachery of his brother-in-law. When asked why he had attacked the Nawâb and plundered the country, he said that he had not wished to attack him, but that Mîr Asad had supplied him with men and 12,000 pagodas, and promised that if he fought and killed the Nawâb, he should be made Nawâb of Arcot, and Killedar of Gingee, and have all the country he might capture; that he had fought only because he had been given money and been ordered to fight, which he would not otherwise have done. When all this had been heard and recorded, his head was taken off, and guards were placed in the Fort and jungles. The English promised His Highness Nawâb Mahfuz Khân twelve lakhs of rupees if he would join them, raise a battery, and encamp at the Villiyanallûr gate with his army. But he replied, that the English were less brave than the French and unable to perform their promises; that they would desert him in the middle, so that the French would hate him the more without any one being benefited; that he would neither help the English nor befriend the French, lest he should make both his enemies, and so he would not trust their promises or join them. To this the English answered loudly that at first they had no orders or help from their king, that he had now sent forces, with ships and treasure, to capture Pondichery, that they could do but two things, fight to the death or take Pondichery—else their

lives would be forfeit. On this Mahfuz Khân agreed to help them with 1,500 horse and 3,000 sepoys, and asked whether he should bring his cannon from Gingee. They answered that they could supply him with cannon, powder, shot and other materials of war, and so desired him to come. He has agreed and has actually set out.' Madanânda Pandit told me this seven days ago, adding that he had been told to reveal it to no one. However he mentioned it two or three days ago when he was in the nut-godown, talking to M. Delarche in Persian and taking down the paddy declarations.

I hear as follows about the sailors, soldiers, officers and others of M. Penlan's ship who have been arriving from Mahé a few at a time :—Muttu Mallâ Reddi wrote to the English warning them to send people; but as the English were reported to have received news of their coming, the first party of our people fled day and night by way of Utramallûr and Sâlavâkkam to Madras. But of the others who came after, some thirty or forty were captured and carried to Mr. Boscawen. Sambu Dâs advised the English to capture the rest, but before they could advance, our people had reached Madras.[1] Qâdir 'Alî Khân, Badê Sâhib's adopted son, told

[1] The Pondichery Council wrote to Mahé November 14, 1748 (*P.R. No.* 61, pp. 283-284) that the English had sent out a party of poligars' peons and captured some of these people, but that 243 reached Madras in safety. Boscawen (letter to Corbet, October 17, 1748. *P.R.O. Ad.* 1—160) says he captured 55 of the Europeans and 48 blacks. More than 300 must have been originally sent.

me this. I hear this sort of news from the people who get into the town to visit their families by giving secret presents to Madame's peons.

Moreover Muttu Mallâ Reddi has not only been supplying the English camp with paddy, and other provisions, but also has been sending men, wherever Pondichery people may be found, to seize and deliver them to the English. People fear the English much less than Muttu Mallâ Reddi, who has seized and plundered many from Pondichery. Further he frequently sends country news to the English. Sambu Dâs and three or four other Madras merchants are at Chingleput, and are doing the same as Muttu Mallâ Reddi. Also that hard-hearted villain Muttu Nâyakkan, the manager of Kûnimêdu, who lives at Âlankuppam, and who depended till now for his very existence upon Pondichery, has become a close friend of Muttu Mallâ Reddi, and does all he says. This evil man, who feared the very name of Pondichery, fears nothing now, and sends all the news to Muttu Mallâ Reddi and the English. All those who formerly dwelt here in ease and wealth, but who now wish the town ill, can never enjoy peace of mind again, and will surely come to ruin. If God exists, surely He will destroy those who lived here at ease but now wish the town ill. Just as now we are suffering evil, so also those who now perform evil will suffer the same, and all men will see this, speak of it and laugh at it.

Saturday, October 5.[1]—This morning from the west the English fired some great shot and shells which struck the lower part of the wall near the Madras gate, the bastion by the Oil-merchants' street and the Valudâvûr gate, destroying the parapet and wounding those who were marching to and fro. Our people repair the walls by night with brick and chunam, and rebuild the parapets as they were before; then at day-break the English destroy them with their shot for the French to repair once more. The Topass and Coffree boys, Pariah women, sepoys and soldiers, carry the shot to M. Cornet at the Fort and get a fanam for each shot and a rupee for each shell. This goes on every day. It is said that there are now in the Fort about 2,000 shot and 200 shells, not counting those that burst.

When I went to the Fort this morning, on my way to the Governor's, I met M. Delarche who said, 'I am a soft-hearted man and always let people off. A Tamil told the bearded master-gunner in charge of the bullock-carts, that M. Cornet had said people still had some grain. I saw M. Cornet with a petition which he had written out and given to the Governor. The latter gave it to me last night, saying that some had concealed their grain and that I had managed badly. The petition names three Choultry-writers, yourself, Ella Pillai and five or six others. Considering how I should be abused

[1] 23rd *Purattâsi*, *Vibhava*.

on account of this, I told the Governor that I could not manage the business. He then asked who could be appointed. I suggested M. de La Selle, saying that he was clever, could speak Tamil well, and had managed the Choultry affairs for some time. M. de La Selle was therefore sent for and appointed. He asked for two more sergeants, who were accordingly given him, and he told them to be very watchful. They began to go round this morning. I hear that M. Cornet showed his letter to you yesterday and told you who were believed to have paddy.' I replied that it was true, told him how I had answered M. Cornet yesterday, adding, 'You were wise to give the work up, as the Company's business must be carefully managed without giving grounds for complaint.'

On my way to the Governor's office, I met M. Cornet who said that the Governor was asleep. So I went to the house of M. Durouvrage, M. Cornet's assistant.

[Yesterday] M. Panon's younger brother [1] came and said to me, 'Why did you prevent the money from being paid for our house in the bazaar? The Company only pays the rent as before.' When M. Panon's younger brother spoke thus curtly and angrily, I stopped him by speaking to him in the same strain, on which he fell silent, and his anger subsided. [To-day] the elder brother discussed the

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 218, *supra*.

matter calmly and politely. Once as I was standing in the street with two neutral persons, he came to me and said, 'A European wants to purchase the house occupied by the Company's powder-stamps. I should like to sell it. But I wished to tell you first, as the Company makes gun-powder there.' I asked him how much he was offered, and he told me. I replied, 'I will see that the Company pays you what others are willing to pay for the house. You had better sell it to the Company than to any one else. Moreover as you serve the Company and get rent for the house, it is but proper that you should first inform them.' He replied that that was why he had told me about it. I replied that I would tell the Governor the next morning and dismissed him, saying that I would give him an answer if he came to me the next evening. But he never came again to talk about it. As matters stood thus, I now asked him why he should speak thus, and said that I would speak to the Governor. He replied that if he had understood me, he would have said nothing; that they had sold the house on the first offer; and that he had heard I had stopped the matter and prevented the balance from being paid when M. Coquet had written out the bill of sale and obtained an advance. I said I knew nothing about the matter. He added that, when his younger brother came to me yesterday about the matter, I would not listen to him, and that was why he had spoken angrily. I said, 'All the townspeople know

that if even a cooly comes to me, I always give him a proper reply, and send him away after hearing what he has to say. Moreover if a man sells his house and signs the bill before the notary, do I not know whether the sale can be cancelled or not? Have I but just come to this town? Don't I know all about it? Madanânda Pandit was present when he spoke and when I replied; and you may ask me in his presence what passed. Can I then speak lies? I will prove what actually took place, and if it turns out that I am not to blame, what should be done to your brother for speaking so sharply?' He smiled sheepishly and replied, 'You have been kind to me, and that is why I came to you to ask what harm I had done you.' I said that all would be known in due time. He said that I had exaggerated four-fold what his brother had said. I replied, 'I patiently heard him twice, and only answered him the second time.'

Just then M. Cornet, the younger Miran and a very pallid man came up. M. Miran said that I was acting ill, and the other man said the same. M. de La Touche came, and I asked him to listen to the story, but he went away saying that he was busy. All the monkey-faces were on the same side, and went away without troubling to learn the truth. Only M. Cornet listened, said that I was right, and spoke sharply to M. Panon. He only grinned, and M. Cornet added severely that, as the Company had taken the house to make gun-powder in, no one

could buy it unless it had been first offered to the Company. He went quietly away without saying anything. Though M. Cornet often talks foolishly, yet in this matter he stated the case justly and manfully, though all the monkey-faces were on the other side. I was very pleased.

When we were thus talking, M. Bertrand, the Governor's writer, came and said very angrily, 'Though you are the Company's courtier, should you send me coarse rice?' I replied, 'I sent you rice in a time of scarcity because you asked me to, and I thought I ought not to refuse. You should have told me that you wanted fine rice—not the coarse sort which is used by servants. As you did not, are you justified in speaking to me so? If you had wanted fine rice for the table, I would have sent it, but gentlemen generally want coarse for their servants—that was why I sent that.' When I said this, his anger was beyond words. M. Cornet, who heard all this, said, 'You are very foolish. You were supplied with rice when you asked for it in a time of scarcity. If you had wanted fine rice, you should have returned the coarse, and asked politely for some fine. Why need he supply you with rice at all? Only if you had the Governor's orders to be supplied with the Company's paddy or rice, could you blame him.' He went away, exclaiming, 'Is this the Governor's justice?'

Considering what happened this morning, with its injustice and infliction of suffering on the good,

I thought the day seemed inauspicious, and resolved to come home. I went therefore to the nut-godown, drank tea, and came home, where I remained for the rest of the day.

About an hour after sunset, a talaiari named Dharmasivan brought a sweet-meat seller's boy, whom he accused of stealing betel leaves out of a garden. When the leaves were shown to me, I asked their value and was told, a fanam. But I said, 'The leaves are only two cash broad. What good are they? You may go.' [.]

Sunday, October 6.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor was coming out of the church after hearing mass and I salaamed. I waited about five minutes after he had gone in, then went to the sorting-godown, and thence to the nut-godown and remained there. A peon came and said, 'The Governor wants you and M. Cornet. A peon has gone for M. Cornet and I have come for you.' So I went to the Governor. He asked how many garse of paddy had been brought into town from the out-villages. I replied, 'Eight garse and 415 vallams had been brought to the godown up to last night. Half has been distributed among the coolies and the other half is in hand.' I added that I had given paddy to M. Cornet to be made into rice for the Company. The Governor told me to reserve, in addition to what was needed for the coolies,

[1] *24th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

fifteen garse of paddy out of what was obtained from the various houses. He then called M. Cornet, and told him the same, adding, 'Ranga Pillai will give you fifteen garse of paddy, besides the four garse he is giving now. See that it is made into rice and kept.' M. Cornet said he would do so, and, turning to me, said that he would send people with me to get the four garse of paddy, and went away.

M. Friell, M. Legou, M. Serre, M. Kèrangal, and one or two other Europeans were with the Governor. He called me and said, 'Ranga Pillai, when they are firing *grenades royales* from the new battery on the west, how do you venture to come to the Fort? There were numberless shots when you were coming. Aren't you afraid of them?' I replied, 'I have firstly God's favour and secondly yours, which are to me and my family as adamantine armour, and keep off shot and shells which burst and scatter in all directions.' M. Friell said, 'In that case, go and conquer Mr. Boscawen and drive him away.' I replied, 'In a few days I myself shall bring you the news of his flight. You will rejoice, and ask if our people have seized his munitions of war,—cannon and other arms—which he brought, and I shall answer that our people have brought them in.' All laughed at this, and the Governor said to me, 'Considering how hot their fire is, I think that you are living in a dangerous place, for it will be struck. You need not remain there. Send for M. Cornet at once.' As soon as he came, the Governor said,

'Ranga Pillai with his family is living in a magazine in the bastion. Give him the room in the great godown in the Fort.'—'Very well, Sir,' he said, and called me. The Governor said, 'There is a room in the great godown in the Fort. You can come and live there with your family to-day. Don't delay even a quarter of an hour. The enemy will fire many shot and shells from to-morrow, and it will be dangerous to go out. So come and stay in the Fort with your wife and children. Don't delay.' As the Governor was pleased to give this order, I said in as respectful a manner as possible that I would do so, and took leave.

I went to the great godown with M. Cornet who had waited outside for me. There he showed me the room intended for me, and said that I could live there with my wife and children, and that he and the other gentlemen would live there as before. He then called two pressers and told them to remove some chests that were in the room, sweep it and deliver it to me. I thanked him and came home. Krishna Ayyan, son of Subbayyan, and Râmayyan's younger brother, who had accompanied me said, 'Is it fitting for your family to live in the Fort? How can you and your womenfolk live in the great godown? As M. Friell, M. Cornet, M. Dulaurens and other Councillors are there, how then can women move about there?' As they spoke thus, I told them that, as the Governor had been pleased to speak about it, I had been to see the godown to

satisfy him, but that I would do what I thought best. I then went to my lodging in Pâlayappa Mudali's house.

Just then there arrived the chobdar [1] who carried letters on the 12th of last month to His Highness Nawâb Mahfuz Khân, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and Vakîl Subbayyan at Gingee. The sepoys at the gate brought him before the Governor. Peon Chidambaram came and told me that the messenger had brought letters for the Governor, who wanted me and Madanânda Pandit. We went to him as it was striking twelve. He was then about to sit down at table. He gave me two Persian and two Telugu letters, and asked from whom they were. I replied that the two Persian letters were from Muhammad Tavakkal, one to him and the other to me, and that the two Telugu letters were from Vakîl Subbayyan, one to me and the other to Madanânda Pandit. I gave Madanânda Pandit his letter, and the Persian letter for the Governor and told him to interpret the latter. He interpreted it as follows :—' (After compliments.) The English have surrounded the Fort of Pondichery, and are attacking you. I write this with your welfare at heart. If you approve, it will be well if you make peace with the English by the mediation of the Nawâb Sâhib. If you agree, write

[1] Ranga Pillai commonly uses the word *chôbudâran* ; here he says *kôlakkâran*, which I conjecture serves here as a Tamil equivalent for the common Hindustani word.

at once to the Nawâb Sâhib desiring him to come to you. Also write to me, asking me to explain everything to the Nawâb Sâhib and to Husain Sâhib, and bring him. Or else, write a polite letter to Husain Sâhib's mother, desiring her to bring His Highness Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân to mediate between you and the English. If you do so, I will come with them, and I think this course will be the best.'

Our Vakîl Subbayyan's letter says:—'I have already sent two or three letters by Viswapati and others, with orders to tear them up if they could not be safely delivered, and to give the news by word of mouth. He will tell you all things. I hear that the people in the rebellious fort of Vêttavalam agreed to lay down their arms and depart, and were allowed to do so. Write to the Nawâb Sâhib and have a letter of congratulation written as well. I hear that the English have written to Nawâb Mahfuz Khân for assistance with large promises, and that he is preparing for war. It is also said that he intends to go to Trichinopoly, as the poligars there are very troublesome. Others again say that he will stay here. Now that Vêttavalam has been conquered, everything will be known as soon as Mahfuz Khân meets Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. I cannot say how annoyed are Husain Sâhib and Zain-ud 'Alî Khân that the Governor has not answered their letters about the seizure by Pondichery people in the jaghir of Bâhûr of cattle belonging to Husain

Sâhib's maternal uncle. Moreover as the affairs arising out of the late disturbances are being managed for Mahfuz Khân by Husain Sâhib, it will be well to write him a polite letter, as Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân always does as he advises; and so this trouble with the English may be settled. It will be enough to write letters for the present, and later on we can settle everything in person. When I received letters for His Highness Mahfuz Khân and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and when the contents of the Governor's letter to the latter were related to him, he read the letter himself, and, turning to Muhammad Tavakkal who was near, asked why the Governor's letter said nothing of the war and only made inquiries after his welfare. Muhammad Tavakkal said that news would come later, and whispered something in the Nawâb's ear. He then wrote two letters, one to the Governor and another to you. I send them with this letter and they will inform you of everything. As to the letter for His Highness Mahfuz Khân, I shall give it to him as soon as he returns from Vêttavalam, which will be to-day or to-morrow, and his replies to you and the Governor will be sent, along with Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's letter.

'At the darbâr, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân told me that his amaldârs reported the English to have surrounded the Fort and ditch of Pondichery, and asked what news I had. I said I had heard that the English were encamped west of Olukarai. He

then asked if his amaldârs' news was false. I said I could only report the news I received. 'Abd-ul-jalîl has written from Villupuram to Munawar-ud-dîn Khân to join him. It is two days since the latter marched with three hundred horse and five hundred peons (with Mahfuz Khân's permission) to help the English. Mahfuz Khân and the other Muhammadans fear the French, but see that the English are strong, and are uncertain of the issue, though they know it cannot be long deferred. In these circumstances it will be wise to write promptly to Husain Sâhib. Muttu Mallâ Reddi has seized and delivered to the English between forty and fifty of our people who were coming from Mahé but intended to return.[1] He has taken the English side, and so seizes and troubles Pondichery people wherever he finds them, beating them, making them fight for the English, and stealing their money and goods. His rascality is beyond words. When I complained to the Dîwân of the plunder of the Âttûr villages, he only said that he would inquire into the matter, but has done nothing,—nay more, being a rogue like the other, he sends him supplies of rice, dholl, ghee and other provisions, thereby making profit. We have not received our pay; it may be sent by a bill of exchange on Tiruviti Sêshâchala Chetti. If Munawar-ud-dîn Khân seeks a meeting, nothing will come of it, for he is a man who will

[1] See above, p. 399.

pull down the ladder as another is climbing it. He has deceived Tiruviti Sêshâchala Chetti, and ought not to be trusted. Moreover we have hitherto transacted affairs through Husain Sâhib. He is a man of wealth, regarded and trusted by Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. His palankin goes before the Nawâb's whenever Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and others go abroad, and nothing is done without his advice. So it is best that affairs should still be managed through him. I write thus boldly because I live upon your bounty.'

I reported all this to the Governor. He had heard something about it when he was at table, and said that he could not write to Husain Sâhib, but would wait for them to offer terms, and added that we could discuss it at leisure to-morrow. So he told me to go home. I took leave and came home at one o'clock.

I heard the following news to-day :—Two of the English deserted their camp, hoping to reach the shore and take a boat; but they lost their way, and, as they were passing to the north of the bound-hedge, they were caught by 150 or 200 of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys who were patrolling in the early morning, and were brought before the Governor. The latter talked with them and shut them up with an Englishman who was taken at Kâlâpêttai, and who is working with our people at the armourer's shop, and lives with the master-gunner. He was ordered to learn their secrets.

He said to them, 'I have been imprisoned these four months. Why have not our people who have come to fight taken the Fort yet?' So he abused the French and praised the English, saying all things in their favour. So they conversed, and the two told him all they knew. Then he came to the Governor and said, 'Disease prevails in the English camp.[1] Many have got dysentery by eating young coconut leaves. The fire from our batteries, their coming hither for the first time from a cold country like Europe, the burning heat of this land, the lack of comfortable dwellings, their living in tents day and night amid the scorching sun and sand, the continuance of the fighting for forty or fifty days instead of nine or ten as they expected, and all this without being able to sleep at night—these and other causes have smitten the English with diseases of which many have died. So Mr. Boscawen, the Rear-Admiral, has resolved to remain on board ship for three more days, raise batteries in two or three places, and thence and from the battery on the west, to pour from the great guns and mortars shot and shell for three continuous days, in order to see whether the Fort surrenders. If it does, well and good; if not, he has resolved to go away on the plea that the rains have set in and that therefore the ships cannot remain at sea. He has written this, and he will fire

[1] A return of casualties in the course of the siege (*P.R.O. Ad.* 1—160) shows 650 officers and men sick—over a quarter of the whole force.

a storm of shot for three days from to-morrow.' I heard this from two European gentlemen who added that this news was told to the Governor by the old Englishman who is friendly to us and who learnt it from the others.

The Europeans also said, 'Get a safe place out of reach of shot and shell, and remain there with your family for the next two or three days. Let the place be strong, and stored with food, etc., so that you need not stir abroad.' I thanked them for their kindness, and added, 'God's grace and your favour are to me as a strong house, roofed with adamant, where I shall abide in perfect safety.' So saying, I took leave. As the Governor wishes me to go and live in the Fort with my family, and as these Europeans say the same, I think the news must be true, and that such things will indeed come to pass to-morrow; but we shall see what will happen.

Fifteen or twenty people were killed to-day by the bombardment from the land-side. The St. Joseph's Bastion north of the Valudâvûr gate, the bastion by the Oil-merchants' street, and the walls near and about the Valudâvûr gate, were damaged; and people feared to show their heads. Men were struck passing by Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house near the Uppâru river. They say that between the tobacco-godown next Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house, my street, Arumpâtai Pillai's street, Bazaar street, Kômutti street, Sêda street, and the Weavers' street, none would go out, for fear of the constant

fire of the guns. They also say that, when the son of Arumpâtai Pillai's sister-in-law was lying in the verandah of Arumpâtai Pillai's house, he was killed by a shot, and that a *grenade royale* struck Parasurâma Pillai's house and killed Dâsari, a Chetti boy. Many are said to have been killed to-day, many houses have been damaged, and people are greatly alarmed. To escape the fire, the people then went to Mîrâpalli. Also men are troubled because they hear that when the wounded are carried to the hospital to have their wounds dressed, only Christians and not Tamils are treated.

To-night, the enemy fired ten shells from the east and then ceased. I hear that one fell in my liquor-godown and broke a liquor-jar on the northern side and that others fell in various houses and streets.

To-day an English boat came in as near as the third line of surf, but made off as soon as our people fired a gun at it. I think they wished to find out how close in ships can be anchored.

Monday, October 7.[1]—This morning, 21 English ships anchored in 5 fathoms of water in two lines. From six to half-past six, the enemy fired upon the Fort and the town—for about quarter of an hour, it was like a shower of rain from a passing cloud in summer. Some shots struck the Fort and the European houses, others the town, and some fell

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[1] *25th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

in the sea. They killed five or ten persons, damaged the walls of certain houses, and broke some tiles and rafters. Their shot fell as far as the Valudâvûr gate on the west and even further. Some stayed in their houses, lest the enemy should fire again from their ships; others stayed in till nine or ten o'clock and then went out, believing that the cannonade was over. Their beginning to fire this morning proves what I heard yesterday. Many were afraid that they would fire day and night. They have begun their storm of fire; and all the Europeans and Tamils are panic-stricken, not knowing when it will cease.[1]

There was no more fire to-day from the east.

I now write the details of the English cannonade from six to half-past six this morning. Europeans and others who saw the cannon-balls said that the English were firing 6-pounders and 32-pounders, corresponding to the French 5- and 28-pounders. I leave a line here in which to enter the number of shots the enemy fired.

The enemy fired from the west their great guns and mortars till evening, directing their fire into the space between the batteries north and south of the

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[1] 'The season being now far advanced . . . , I found nothing left for it but to endeavour to annoy them as much as possible, and thereby reduce them to a necessity of surrendering; and with this view I ordered Captain Lisle to extend the men-of-war before the town in line of battle and warp in and begin firing the morning after our batteries were opened; which he did, but finding himself not nigh enough in, presently ceased . . . . (Boscawen to Corbet, October 17, 1748. *P.R.O. Ad.* 1—160.)

Valudâvûr gate and the walls by the old Madras gate. Some shots entered one or two cubits deep into the walls, broke and pierced the parapets, and damaged the houses north of the Râjâ street which lies east of the Villiyanallûr gate, Periyanna Mudali's house, Appu Mudali's house, and all those on the west side of the Râjâ street which runs north to south, and near the Madras gate. There is not a house but has been struck. No one living in the Kômutti street, Weavers' street, Sêda street, Sênia street [1], in Madanânda Pandit's house, and as far as Guntûr Ravanappa Chetti's house, dared to come out. All those living in the streets running east and west near the Madras gate, and from Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house to the streets north of the Râjâ street near the Villiyanallûr gate, were driven away by the violence of the fire and escaped into the Great Street running east and west by the Villiyanallûr gate and into Mîrâpalli to the south. At the time of the Maratha troubles, the people of Arcot, etc., for a hundred miles round Pondichery, came hither and Pondichery was then full of men So now that all the people have flocked together into Mîrâpalli, they say it is so crowded that a sesamum seed cannot fall to the ground. However I and my family remain in the godowns of Pâlayappa Mudali's house, in the Râjâ street, which runs east to west by the Valudâvûr gate. Every one else,

[1] These two names signify special classes of weavers. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. VI, pp. 348 and 361.

including those who live north of the Fort and in Pavalapêttai west of it, have fled into Mîrâpalli, leaving a cooly in each house. Except for a cooly or a peon in each house, the town looks deserted ; but as Badê Sâhib's wife and children live in my street, it is less deserted. Only Ariyappa Mudali lives in the house opposite my lodging. Kanakarâya Mudali's younger brother, Tânappa Mudali, and other Christians, sent away their women and children long ago, and the men departed to Mîrâpalli, locking their doors and leaving coolies in charge of their houses, the day after firing began from the east. Every one in the town, beginning with the people of Pavalapêttai, have gone there. This is not the first time I have mentioned it, for the Pavalapêttai people went to Mîrâpalli the morning after firing began from the west.

They fired to-day many 12- and 24-pound and some 6-pound shots. Between two and three thousand of these and of the 65- and 70-pound shells were fired to-day, scattered over the whole town, or else striking the walls and falling in the ditch. Some also fell in the sea. There is therefore no need to say what places they struck. People must understand that no place has escaped untouched. None but the coolies employed on the Valudâvûr and Madras gates were to be seen in the town. I hear fifty or sixty people have been killed.

The two 24-pounders and carriages captured from the English on Thursday, the 21st, were placed

by our people in the St. Joseph's bastion, midway between the Valudâvûr gate battery and the bastion by the Oil-merchants' street; these guns were fired at the English and their battery. People say that the English aim especially at them and the bastion, and have injured the mouths of the guns and both axles of the carriages, killing an officer and five or six artillery-men. So these two guns have been removed and replaced by 36- and 24-pounders from Madras. The fire was too hot for men to remain on the ramparts, and so the three officers there were ordered to keep all but the sentinels in places of safety; and there are three messengers to go to and fro.

Tuesday, October 8.[1]—At five o'clock this morning twenty-one English ships anchored abreast of the town and the Fort, and soon after the Admiral's ship took up her position. The drums beat, a red flag [2] was hoisted at the main-mast with a great lighted lantern. The sailors drew up on one side of the ships, and from sunrise to sunset without interruption fired 36-, 32-, 28-, 24-, 18-, 16- and 12-pounders (according to the English reckoning).[3] Also mortars threw shells of two hundred and fifty and one hundred and nine pounds from a sloop. It was like the deluge which, we read, will befall at the end of this yuga, when the seven clouds having

[1] [26th] *Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

[2] The red flag was the signal for action.

[3] In the night Lisle warped further in, so as to be able more effectively to cannonade the town

drunk up the waters of the seven seas, will pour stone and fire upon the sacred Mount Mêru with lightning and thunder. So the enemy poured 31,547 shot and 288 shells upon Pondichery, a town mightier than Delhi or Agra, as though it had been Mount Mêru. Moreover they fired from their western battery 2,500 shot and 770 shells. They fired storms of shot from east and west; and their cannon-balls were as omnipresent as God, for there was no place but was struck. The fire of the ships reached even the bound-hedge on the west, and the fire of the western battery reached the shore on the east. When the English thus manifested their power, our people answered once on both the east and west, but Mahârâja Râja Srî the Governor Avargal said, 'The English think that they can destroy the Fort by firing like this. We shall see how they get on. Do not fire in return.' On this, our people ceased their fire. By God's grace the English shot only killed 116 people and wounded 65, including the coolies and beggars who wander about without shelter, and others who had gone, for the sake of the reward, to pick up the cannon-balls. Just as thick darkness or deep snow vanishes at the brightness of the Sun, the Protector of the world, so the deeds of the English vanished before the matchless bravery, strength, grandeur and might of Mahârâja Râja Srî His Excellency Nawâb Monsieur Chevalier Dupleix Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang, Governor-General.

I myself remained to-day with my family in my cloth-godown in Pâlayappa Mudali's house. Ariyappa Mudali and Muttuppavala Reddi were with me, and we remained on the pial and at the entrance of the house from sunrise to noon. Then I bathed, ate, went to sleep, rose at four o'clock, and spent till six in conversation, walking to and fro, sending people to several places to bring news, and hearing what they reported. All in the town remained safely in their houses without going out, even without washing their houses or taking food. At six o'clock the red flag which was hoisted at the main-mast, when the Admiral's ship took up its position, was hauled down, and the drums beat. Then the sailors ceased their hail of shot.

The English, who all expected that we should surrender the Fort and make terms to-day for fear of their fire, were disappointed and returned to their old quarters. When they had ceased fire, after seven or eight o'clock this evening people came abroad again, and, going to their homes, prepared and ate their food and rejoiced.

At seven o'clock I visited my house and stayed there till one, when I came away with my family and children to Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti's house in the Kômutti street. I thought of lodging in the house west of Muttayya Pillai's; but Madame Dupleix has sent word by Muhammad Husain that it is required for her body-guard.

Wednesday, October 9.[1] — All kept indoors this morning, fearing that the English ships would fire as they did yesterday; but as they did not, all began to come abroad at ten o'clock. I remained in the Sunguvârs' house and Tiruviti Bâlu Chetti's house, in case the enemy should fire as they did yesterday. The French opened fire from their new earthworks, and the English battery was destroyed. After the first five or six shots, the English could do nothing, and stood unable to fire. This evening they began to fire again with shell, and killed the gunner in charge of the new earthwork, and made our people take shelter. But the French returned the fire so that they did not dare to raise their heads. One of our shells from the east, struck a ship and killed the Captain.[2] The ship is said to have been withdrawn for repair.

As I was in the Sunguvârs' house with my family, Sêshâchala Chetti treated us with great respect. Many have been killed by the English fire from the west. Badê Sâhib's son applied to the Governor by Jemadar Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân for leave to go out, but it was refused. I hear that he is in Kanakarâya Mudali's house. When I was in Tiruviti Bâlu Chetti's house, the Mullâ's son came and told me that the English at Kûnimêdu had

[1] 27th *Purattâsi*, *Vibhava*.

[2] The ship was H.M.S. *Harwich*. The Captain (Adams) lost his leg and died. The sea-breeze had set in early, and the ships had not been able to get out of range of the Fort. (Boscawen to Corbet, October 17, 1748. *P.R.O. Ad.* 1—160.)

entered the Mullâ's house, plundered it, and carried him off.

Friday, October 11.[1]—I hear to-day that our fire is such that the enemy dare not show their heads, that many are being killed, and that they cannot hold out any longer. People say that by the middle of this month good days will have begun for the town. As the period of Venus, the sub-period of Mercury, the *Chittiram* of Venus and the *Antaram*[2] of Saturn [in my horoscope] will come to an end by the 1st Arppisi, I think that during the latter half of the *Chittiram* of Mercury, which covers twenty-four days from the 22nd Purattâsi, the destruction of the enemy seems likely. Presumably they will besiege the town and be annihilated. God's will remains to be seen.

When I went to the Governor and paid my respects to him, he asked when the rains would begin. I replied, 'It will rain on October 14. When the wind sifts the sand, our people say that it will rain in two or three days. It was like that all round last night. Moreover there is much lightning, and the rains usually begin on

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[1] 29*th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

[2] The Hon'ble Diwân Bahâdûr Swâmikannu Pillai has been kind enough to furnish me with the following explanation of these terms :—

'They are sub-divisions of *dasa*, a period of astrological influence. I believe *Antaram* is the same as *Antarantardasa*. In a *dasa* (or period of planetary influence) there are 9 *bhuktis* or *vidasas*, sub-divided into 9 *Antardasas*, sub-divided again into 9 *Antarantaradasas*, and these sub-divided into 9 *Sukshmadasas*. The sub-divisions are in each case named after the 9 planets.'

October 14; so I expect that there will be rain.' M. Duquesne and others jestingly asked if it would really rain. I asserted that it would. The Governor said I was right, and that it was so in these parts. He was rather angry that no gunny-bags had been collected, and told me to give orders to the Nayinâr. I said I would do so. The Governor then went to the sorting-godown and I followed him. There he angrily told the pressers that they were sewing very slowly. Then Periyanna Nayinâr came to ask if bags should be got from the merchants. As soon as the Governor saw him, he grew angry. I too spoke to him angrily, and told him to bring them whencesoever they might be got. I came home at noon.

When I was about to eat at one o'clock, I was told that I was wanted by the Governor. When I asked why I was wanted, I was told as follows:—Ignace Muttappan, the sister-in-law's son of the catechist, Mutta Pillai, complained to M. de La Selle that the catechist had said that there were only seventy markâls of paddy in Nallatambi Pillai's house, that thirty were needed for food and that only forty could be taken; and he urged that nothing should be paid for the 40 markâls unless the rest were detained as well, adding that the catechist had an undeclared private store in Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house. M. de La Selle thereon went to Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house But as the women had gone to the Bazaar Garden for fear of the

firing, there were only five or six peons and two or three servant-girls there. De La Selle entered the house, and ordered the earth-diggers to dig in front of the house, as well as try the kitchen and the sleeping-rooms. He also got blacksmiths to open the locks, and, as he was giving orders to measure the paddy and rice found in ten pots for the use of the peons and the servant-girls, the news reached Mîr Ghulâm Husain's people in the Bazaar Gardens. Twenty or thirty men went at once with sticks and ropes, and had scarcely given four or five blows to the paddy-measurers and the Nayinâr's peons, as Mîr Ghulâm Husain's adopted son and he [? La Selle] were speaking together, when La Selle ran away faster than words can tell, fearing to be beaten too. He told the Governor, who at once summoned me and Sadasiva Ayyan, Mîr Ghulâm Husain's man.

Thinking that it would take about an hour to bathe and eat, and resolving to eat on my return, I went to the Fort and saw the Governor. There were M. de La Selle, Alaga Pillai and the Nayinâr's peons. On seeing me, the Governor asked if I knew what Mîr Ghulâm Husain had done. I replied, 'When I came, you were asleep, so I waited outside till you woke. Meanwhile M. de La Selle told me everything.' The Governor said with unbounded anger, 'Even if my people did go and search, these people should not have behaved so. What do their peons mean by beating our men? I will send 200 Coffrees

to plunder their houses.' When he spoke thus angrily, I reminded him that he had been pleased hitherto to treat them with respect. When M. de La Selle was asked what should be done, he said that 24 soldiers should fetch the peons and the servant-girls, and that they should be beaten for beating our people. The Governor told him to do so, and to send the soldiers at the Villiyanallûr gate. He then departed.

I then said, 'When paddy is found in big people's houses, they should be summoned and questioned suitably. But M. de La Selle has been inconsiderate. Though our people entered the house, the others of course should have sent word about it without using violence; but they were only peons and servant-girls; I do not know what they may have done to the diggers, and so far they are to blame. However, be pleased to forgive them.' The Governor replied, 'If M. de La Selle goes there with the soldiers, tell him from me to treat them gently and let them go.' Then I sent word to M. de La Selle (who was passing by the Fort gate), and, going myself, informed him of the Governor's orders. He replied angrily, 'The Muhammadans who live here have disobeyed our orders and beaten our men. Is this right? But you take their side, and so have got this order from the Governor.' I replied, 'I only do as I am told; there are the Governor's orders, and you must do as you please.' Thereon he angrily went by the Villiyanallûr gate

to get the soldiers. I then went to Mîr Ghulâm Husain Sâhib's house, and, having found there his adopted son, 'Abbâs Sâhib, with his elder brother and Sadâsiva Ayyan, said, 'If the Governor's people came to see if other people had paddy here, you should have allowed them to search, and declared that no one was allowed to keep paddy in your house, in the present state of affairs, and you should have reported it to us.' They replied, 'We have come to live in Pondichery, leaving our kingdom, our land, our relatives and friends, as you are a truthful people; nor should you forget the kindness shown to you. We have remained here with our property, out of friendship thinking the place to be as our own. Because we esteemed your friendship, we did not leave the town during these troubles. But the Governor never inquired after us when the enemy's fire was so hot. M. Dumas cared for our friendship so much that he wrote to us from Europe; but this Governor cared nothing, even when our houses were struck and damaged. Is this his friendship for us? Is it a great thing even if we are said to have twenty or thirty markâls of paddy hidden in our house? Big people should not be troubled over trifles; or at least we might have been asked about it. But instead of this, when we had gone away for fear of the enemy's fire, and had closed our house, and left it and all our possessions, you break it open with the aid of blacksmiths, and search it, digging up the floor. Is this just? This

is your respect for us. A man should not enter without leave the house of even an idiot or a beggar who lacks even rice water. Moreover are we your subjects? Are we your sepoys, or are we of inferior rank? It is only out of respect for you that we have remained in the town amidst this storm of fire. How respectfully you have treated us in return!' Thus they abused the French, and added, 'We should have been mad to remain here if we had known we should be treated thus; but we have only just learnt, and now we know what is likely to happen.' Thus they spoke, and sent one of their people to fetch 'Abd-ul-rahmân.

Then M. de La Selle arrived with twenty soldiers, and asked where the people he wanted were. At once seven or eight people who were outside ran to where I was in the garden opposite Mîr Ghulâm Husain's house, and said that twenty or thirty soldiers, and the European who had been there before, had entered the house. The ten or fifteen Muhammadans who had been talking so high appeared terrified. Their tongues grew dry; they lost all self-control, and gaped in one another's faces. How can I describe their fear? Then they said among themselves, 'The Pillai is here; why should we fear?' So they implored me respectfully to make matters up. De La Selle and the soldiers came up to us and demanded those who had beaten our peons. At once the Muhammadans were struck motionless with alarm, and they begged me to settle

the matter and let them go, desiring me to apologise to M. de La Selle, explaining matters and begging forgiveness. So I sent M. de La Selle and the soldiers away, saying that he had forgiven them. I have already written that such were the Governor's orders; so M. de La Selle departed with his soldiers.

When I had returned and sat down again, Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân came. They told him the whole story. The jemadar replied in his usual prating way, 'Barking dogs don't bite; but who will dare to insult Muhammadans so long as I am here? There are 1,500 of us, all ready to die. We will go out of the Fort, show what we can do, and depart.' I said nothing either for or against him, and took leave. The Muhammadans said to him, 'In spite of what had happened, and the coming of the soldiers, Rangappan succeeded in settling things smoothly; else we should have been in danger.' They then asked him to see their house, and showed the damaged doors and locks and the holes in the floor. 'Abd-ul-rahmân rashly exclaimed that he would go at once to the Governor and speak plainly to him, no matter what might happen. He then took leave and went with me to the Fort. As soon as we had reached the Fort and presented ourselves before the Governor [ ].

Saturday, October 12.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor, M. Robert, M. Serre,

[1] 30*th Purattâsi, Vibhava.*

M. Duquesne, M. Friell and others were sitting drinking coffee. I went and paid my respects. The Governor turned to me and said, 'You said that those who are learned in the Tamil Shâstras declared that the English would go away by October 1. It is October 12 and must be the first of the month for you; but the English have not gone yet.' M. Duquesne and M. Friell said that by the 30th Purattâsi, the town's bad days would end, that by the first of the Malabar[1] October its good days would begin, that the English would depart, and there would be heavy rain. M. Duquesne added, 'I am so sure of it that I have betted with five or six people; what do you say, Ranga Pillai?' I replied, 'To-day is the 30th of our September and 12th of your October. To-morrow is 1st Arppisi—the 13th October. To-morrow you will hear that the English are departing, and there will be heavy rains. You will surely win your bets. The sand was blowing about last night, and that is a sign of rain.' The Governor said, 'That is true. Besides, there is much lightning and a slight north wind. It has been hot and dry for a long time; so there is sure to be rain and wind.' I observed, 'There will be a storm, and you will hear that the English have lost many ships.' The Governor continued, 'You said that by the first of your October we should hear of the English retreating. When will they actually

[1] 'Malabar' was the term commonly used to designate Tamil. The Hindu month *Arppisi* is meant here.

go?' I rejoined, 'To-morrow you will rejoice to hear of their retreat, and within twelve days from to-morrow every man will have departed. There will be no heavy fighting from to-morrow; it will decrease day by day. They will only make a show of fighting for five or six days, until they have removed their goods. Then they will remain at Ariyânkuppam for five or six days more, and surely by the time I say, by the 13th of Arppisi, they will have departed. Be sure of this. Is it for the first time I have said so? A month ago I said that by the end of September and the beginning of October, our good days would begin, that the English would then be preparing to depart, and that, within eleven or twelve days more, they would all be gone. Moreover I have said the same whenever you asked me.' The Governor replied, 'True, Ranga Pillai; what the Brâhmans predict almost always comes to pass; I have seen many instances of it.' I replied, 'Have I not predicted many great things and have they not come to pass?'—'It is so,' he said.

While we were thus talking, Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Ibrâhîm with their peons came and said, 'As we were going to Pudupâlaiyam with seven or eight hundred sepoys, 100 Coffrees and some Muhammadan horse-men, having heard that the English were raising batteries there, we found 300 of Malrâjâ's peons, Carnatic sepoys, Bombay sepoys and 200 Pariahs called Parvari. These were surprised by our approach; some were

fast asleep, some at the tank, some standing and some sitting; so we attacked them, and they cast away their arms and fled at our first fire.' 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys picked up three muskets, ten Râchûr rockets, and four or five swords and cross-hilted daggers; Shaikh Ibrâhîm's sepoys found five or six muskets, ten or twelve Râchûr rockets, and five or six swords and cross-hilted daggers. One sword was very fine, but when 'Abd-ul-rahmân asked for it, Shaikh Ibrâhîm's peons refused to give it up. It was also said that when Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân demanded a fine sword which had been picked up by one of his own peons, the latter refused; so he was given forty or fifty lashes and the sword was seized. Two of the Bombay Pariahs were brought in by Shaikh Ibrâhîm's and 'Abd-ul-rahmân's men, and the latter captured a Vadugan[1] with a small pearl ear-ring in one of his ears. Moreover his sepoys seized some rupees, bangles, female clothes and so forth. Our people, thinking they had done enough, slowly retired, as the Europeans of the English army and their sepoys advanced to attack them, and captured ten or twelve of our sepoys who were plundering. Ponnan, one of Madame Dupleix' peons who went to plunder, got five or six blows on his head and back, as an example, but has escaped. As soon as their army came up, one of their sepoys rode out, killed two of our sepoys

[1] See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. VII, p. 266.

and returned. Their fire killed or wounded seven or eight sepoys under Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Ibrâhîm. 'Abd-ul-rahmân says that our people fired at the same time, and that five or six of them must have been wounded. Thus the sepoys under 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Ibrâhîm fought and returned to the Governor after their victory. 'Abd-ul-rahmân, Shaikh Ibrâhîm, 'Ali Khân and others came with the weapons they had taken and salaamed before him. The Governor joyfully questioned 'Abd-ul-rahmân about the fight and the capture of the weapons. The latter told his story; and Shaikh Ibrâhîm interrupted from time to time, thinking it would be unbecoming to remain silent. But what use was that? Jemadar Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân is the prince of laggards. Whenever he goes to fight, he never fights at the head of his sepoys, but sends them all in front, he remaining in the rear; and he runs a mile off when the firing begins. He has got a name, because 'Alî Khân fights under him, and because in spite of his cowardice his good fortune stands instead of courage, and has produced for him greatness and praise from the Governor. So what can the unfortunate Shaikh Ibrâhîm do? Although he speaks to the Governor and displays the weapons his people have taken, the Governor neither looks at nor speaks to him. Then Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and 'Alî Khân were praised, and ordered to deliver to the Company the guns that were brought, and told to draw the rupees due according to the customary rate.

Then the Bombay Pariah Parvari prisoners[1] were brought in and questioned. They said, 'Many have died by epidemic fevers and the like, and many have been killed by your fire. About a thousand men have died or been thus put out of action. So they have resolved to go away in five or six days. Why should you attack them and waste your men? They will go of their own accord, and certainly will not remain here.' The Governor ordered them to be taken to the Fort gate, and then went to the Hospital to see the sick. 'Abd-ul-rahmân and others went to Madame with the two Bombay Pariahs; and, having informed her of the projected retreat of the English, went to their respective homes. Since the beginning of the siege, Shaikh Ibrâhîm has been going out and fighting; but till now he has been silent, like a fool in the corner, and on his return to-day the Governor did not even speak to him. So when he came out, he said to me, 'I and my sepoys fought hard; but he who was a mile behind, has won praise though my efforts could win none. What is the use if no one speaks of me to the Governor? According to the Company's records, the sepoys are yours and I am their captain; so all praise or blame is yours also, whatever my activity.' I replied ironically, 'That is doubtless

[1] I am informed by the courtesy of Mr. Balwant Mahadev, the Record-keeper of Bombay, that 115 Bombay sepoys were sent to Fort St. David in 1747; and that up to 1891 men of the Parvari caste used to be enlisted in the Maratha regiments of the Bombay army.

true; but it was not I who reported to the Governor the news of our victory. That had already reached him by Mânôja. He well knows your services and you will receive your reward.'—'True,' he said, 'but be pleased to speak to the Governor about me.' He said this respectfully, and went away. Then I came home.

Till evening the enemy fired much shot and shell as usual from the west. So no one could move about near the Bazaar street and the Company's Godown street. The Governor has ordered all the gunny bags to be brought to the Fort; so the Nayinâr's men are carrying thither all the gunny bags and wrappers both old and new; and are tying them up there. The pressers are busy stitching the gunnies, filling them with earth, and placing them between the Valudâvûr and the Madras gates and the bastion—wherever the English fire is causing damage. This is what has been going forward day and night for the last nine or ten days. Nine or ten persons in the town have been killed.

Moreover three English men, who deserted with 2,000 rupees which they had stolen, told the Governor to-night that the English are departing with all their troops. I hear that the Governor feels therefore at ease. I shall learn all about this when I go to him to-morrow morning. I cannot say how glad the Europeans, the Tamils, and the rest are on hearing this news. As God owes protection to the people of the earth, He has saved us from English

cruelty, and protected us. I have not the wit to write how much glory has been won by Mahârâja Râja Srî Governor-General Dupleix Avargal. God is pleased to make Dupleix' glory fill the world like sun-shine.

Sunday, October 13.[1]—I heard the following news this morning :—

Three English men deserted from the Parachêri battery and came to the Cuddalore gate last night; they were admitted by the Governor's orders, and said, 'We have come from the English battery. Many in the camp have died by your fire and disease. Many sick and wounded have been sent in dhoolies to Fort St. David. Moreover the battery is quite surrounded by swamps and water; and as the troops have to remain there day and night, they are dying of swellings in their hands and legs. If they show even a head, your fire drives them in again. Mr. Boscawen has done all he could, but can hold out no longer, as so many have died; and so they are removing their cannon, etc. Besides, as the rainy season has begun, the captains say that they cannot remain longer. So they are removing everything in preparation for their departure. But the Dutchman[2] who came says, "You should not do that. Even if it is the rainy season, and if so many have died, will no one perish in war? I will get

[1] 1st *Arppisi, Vibhava.*

[2] I.e., Captain Roussel, who commanded the detachment from Negapatam.

powder, shot, men, etc. The ships can go and return after the monsoon." Mr. Boscawen did not agree, but means to depart.' They brought with them about 2,000 rupees. On learning this news, the Governor gave them as much bread, liquor and meat as they wanted, and sent them to the Fort gate under escort. He is transported by this news, which is proved to be true by the following:—The English fired a storm of fire on Tuesday from dawn till six in the evening; on one night only they fired ten bombs from the east and then stopped; they fired on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday from the west many great shot and shell; but since Friday they have fired from the west fewer shot, and shell called *Grenades royales*.

When the English tried to raise a battery near Pânipêttai yesterday, our people prevented them, and drove all the Carnatic people back to the Pillai's choultry. So also the Bombay Parvaris of Jemadar Muhammad Khân's company, who were captured along with the weapons, tents, goods and rice, when questioned, said, 'Why do you attack the battery and waste lives? They themselves will depart in five or six days.' As they said exactly what the Englishmen said above, it is certain that the English are going away. Moreover all the ships which lay off Pondichery, except the ship which hoisted the Admiral's flag and a bomb-ketch, set sail at sunrise this morning and anchored off the Vellâla choultry beyond Kottakuppam. A hundred boats

and dhonies have been plying between the shore and the ships, and lading them with stores; so all the stores and guns of Mr. Boscawen's camp west of Pondichery are being put on board.[1]

This morning a small ship arrived from Fort St. David and saluted the ship flying the Admiral's flag. The latter returned the salute. It is not known what news it brought; but after firing a gun, it set sail and anchored with the other ships off the Vellâla choultry. The bomb-ketch did the same. News came at seven o'clock that there were no ships in the Pondichery roads. As the evil influence of Saturn will cease by two o'clock to-day, I think that our troubles are over. As Mercury's influence will last twenty-four and a half or twenty-five days, we shall see whether the enemy will be defeated in the first or second half of its influence. We shall see what happens in the half.

Thinking that the Governor would be glad to-day because of the intended retreat of the enemy, I went to the Fort to pay my respects to him. As I approached the Fort gate, meat was being carried in.[2]

Moreover, as soon as I got up this morning, I washed my face, took betel, and went to Lakshmana Nâyakkan and Madanânda Pandit, who were living in Tiruviti Bâlu Chetti's house opposite, and said to

[1] At this point Vinson makes the Diary begin a new day, October 14 or the 2nd *Arppisi*. But a later passage alludes to the date as the 1st *Arppisi*.

[2] An auspicious omen.

them :—'I hear from three of the Englishmen who deserted last night that the ships have sailed northwards and are taking in stores. As the time of the rains has come, they are going away, unable to hold out any longer. We have laid up saw-dust and leaves and earth as a protection against their fire, but need do so no longer. Have I not already told you that we who left our homes for fear will return fearlessly in five or six days, and that the enemy will retire by the beginning of Arppisi? To-day being the first of Arppisi we see the signs of it.'

When I was thus speaking, we heard the sound of guns from the ships, and they feared whence the enemy were firing. I told them not to be afraid, and said that the two guns we had just heard only confirmed the news that a ship had sailed hither from Fort St. David with news.

Just then I heard that the Admiral's ship and the bomb-ketch, which had been at anchor in the roads, and the ship just arrived had set sail. This news confirmed what I had just said to Lakshmana Nâyakkan and Madanânda Pandit, and shows that the English really mean to retreat. I then took leave of them, and went to the Sunguvârs' house, meaning to go to the Governor after eating my cold rice. Lakshmana Nâyakkan spoke words of blessing and gave me an orange. At once my troubled mind grew easy; from to-day our affairs will succeed and the enemy will be destroyed. So thinking I passed the Eastern gate (called the Porte Royale).

I met a Capuchin priest who asked how I was. I replied, 'Quite well, by your favour.' He continued, 'The English have not all gone; a few still remain, but these will go away on the first rains.' I replied, 'In that case they are as good as gone.'

Then I went to the corner by the dove-cot in the Fort where the Governor lives. He, M. Duquesne, M. Friell, M. Serre, Coja Sultân, Coja Soiquit, Madame Dupleix, M. de La Selle[?], M. Vincens and some other Europeans were sitting outside the office, talking about the retreat of the Europeans, with their munitions of war and guns, the completeness of their removal, and the way in which they had fought. When I went and stood there with Madanânda Pandit and Annapûrna Ayyan, the Governor, leaving the others, came to me and said, 'The English have had enough of war, and are retreating. A time ago arrangements were being made to act a drama about the victories of the French, and the players were taught their parts; but then it had to be put off. But now we can complete and act it with the people already chosen. They must sing all that has happened from the beginning of the war up to now. They must be well-practised, and dancing-girls must be got. Then it shall be performed, and I will provide whatever is needed, make all ready, and have the drama played soon.' He repeated this, urging me not to delay. 'Shall I delay when you have spoken?' I said, 'I will prepare all things accordingly.'

The Governor then said, 'Look here, the Muhammadans have been helping the English. We must punish not only them but those also who have not been on our side, so that they will remember us' I replied, 'If we did not do this, we should win no glory in the kingdom. We must punish them, so that their sons' sons may know that only those who do not wrong the French can escape.'—'Surely, I will do so,' the Governor said. I continued, 'While others have not helped you [ ].'

[*October 14*].[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning to see the Governor, he was in the sorting-godown. On seeing me, he said he had heard that 'Abd-ul-jalîl had marched last night by torch-light; at least the peons and sepoys who had been outside said so. [I observed ?], ''Abd-ul-jalîl arrived on September 20, and so has been here twenty-three or twenty-four days. Some say that he was getting 400 rupees, and others, 1,000 as daily batta. He was only waiting to plunder the four streets of Pondichery as soon as Mr. Boscawen had taken it; how could he have endured to retreat? Surely it must have torn his soul from his body. Once he feared us, and did not dare to live in Villupuram, but went to Gingee. Now he will not dare to halt this side of Arcot; and although he has the Nawâb's protection at Arcot, his fear will make

[1] I suppose this to be the point at which the Diary of October 14 begins.

Pondichery and Arcot seem close together, his coming here foolishness, and his life in perpetual danger.' When [I ?] thus spoke lightly of 'Abd-ul-jalîl's cowardice, etc., M. Friell said that he had been longing to plunder the Brâhman street and my street among others. The Governor said, 'I hear he wanted four streets, including Rangappan's and the Kômutti street, but now he has gone away with shame.' Just then Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân came and was told to sit. The Governor said, 'I will make you Nawâb of Arcot.' 'Abd-ul-rahmân replied, 'Give me only 1,000 sepoys and troopers with four mortars and four great guns, I shall need no money—and I will seize Arcot and bring you back money. You need only give the word.' I observed that as many sepoys with guns and mortars could take all the country this side of the Kistna. 'True,' the Governor said, and spoke of 'Abd-ul-jalîl's coming and departure. He then got up and telling me to send for M. Delarche, went into his office.

The Governor then sent for 'Abd-ul-rahmân, and said, 'March northwards this afternoon, destroy the English batteries, and bring back whatever can be found.' He also ordered M. Duquesne with all 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys, my people under Shaikh Ibrâhîm, and the Carnatic musketeers, 500 sepoys in all, together with 300 military, 200 Coffrees and two guns to attack the English battery early to-morrow morning, drive the enemy out, destroy it and seize all that was to be found there. 'Abd-ul-rahmân told

me of this, and then went home. Just then, M. Delarche went to the Governor [ ].

[*October 15*].[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor had gone up the clock-tower with the commandant, some officers, Madame and ten or twelve others, to see how our 1,700 or 1,800 men (including sepoys) were getting on in their efforts to kill or capture as many English as possible, and to seize the stores that are being carried from the camp to the ships anchored in the Bommaiya-pâlaiyam roads. I also went up and salaamed. After waiting about half an hour, I went and sat in the sorting-godown.

Vakîl Subbayyan wrote on September 24 from Mahfuz Khân's camp at Gingee, whence he attacked the Poligar of Vêttavalam. The messenger, fearing the English camp, came in last night with Madame Dupleix' peons who had been out to Valudâvûr to get news. The letter was given to the Governor, and he sent it to me by a peon. But Madame took it, sent secretly for that true Brâhman, Madanânda Pandit, this morning, had it interpreted, and then sent it on by the peon, who brought it to me at nine o'clock when I was at the sorting-godown. I asked the Company's peon who had given him the letter, and who had read it; and he told me what is written above; I then sent him away and read the letter. It said. 'Periya Ayyâ, the Poligar of Vêttavalam,

[1] A new day appears to begin here, although no date is inserted in the Madras transcript or by M. Vinson.

formerly made a Muhammadan by Karam 'Alî Khân, returned after a pilgrimage to Râmêsvaram, seized on Vêttavalam and the jungles acquired by his father, the Periya Pandâri, built a fort in the Gingee country, and plundered the Sarkar lands. Thereupon Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Mahfuz Khân advanced and attacked him. He fled, as he had no provisions, and so one of his servants has been seized and beheaded. As the English have occupied our bounds, 'Abd-ul-jalîl has written to Mahfuz Khân from the English camp asking him to come; the latter delays as he cannot trust the English. Chandâ Sâhib and the Marathas are expected shortly; Udaiyârpâlaiyam and Tanjore are likely to be attacked. Please send some money for my expenses.' I waited to inform the Governor, but I heard that he had come down from the clock-tower and gone into his office. Shaikh Ibrâhîm with his 500 sepoys and Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân with his 1,000 and odd sepoys, Coffrees and horsemen, attacked the English on the north and west, but as the latter opened fire from both sides, they retired. Two of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys were killed and two wounded. As soon as 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Ibrâhîm returned, the Governor asked angrily why they had come in without attacking and destroying the batteries. They went home sadly with down-cast looks.

Early this morning, the enemy fired *Grenades royales* as they did yesterday from the west and north-west, at the rate of six from each division.

They fired even afterwards. In the course of the day about thirty shot were fired from their great guns, against the bastions and the walls. I do not know how many rounds were fired.

About nine o'clock this morning a 14-pound shot struck the rice-godown east of my younger brother's house. The enemy act thus because they have resolved to go away, and are putting their guns and stores on board ship. At midnight they set fire to their entrenchments, and all withdrew to the tents pitched on the high ground west of the bound-hedge. All their heavy stores were put on board with other things, but some were carried along the shore to Fort St. David. A few things were left behind. The entrenchments which were set on fire at midnight burnt till half-past three, and smoke rose till half-past four, after which nothing was seen The Brâhman boy (I do not know his name) from Pâpisamudram, who brought Vakîl Subbayyan's letter last night, says that he saw Mr Boscawen, the Rear-Admiral, set out yesterday, Monday, the 14th, about ten o'clock and that he went to Fort St. David by palankin by way of Ariyânkuppam. Others also confirm the news. We fired one or two hundred shot in the course of the morning from the new earth batteries. It is said that, of the 60,000 shots altogether fired by the English, since the Ariyânkuppam fight, twenty-five or twenty [thousand ?] were fired from the sea and the rest from the land, and that 1,000 shells were

fired from the east and 3,000 from the west. Our people fired 30,000 shot and three hundred shells.[1]

Wednesday, October 16.[2]—The English set fire last night to their battery and entrenchments near the paracheri at Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu within the bound-hedge, and retired to-day to Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry, and thence to the tents pitched on the high ground at Muttiraipâlaiyam. They put their stores on board ship in the Bommaiyapâlaiyam and Vellâla Choultry roads, going themselves to Fort St. David by the way south of Villiyanallûr. For the last three or four days they have been busily moving their stores, but still they have been firing now and then to prevent a sortie. However our sepoys, etc., have done nothing. From Friday, September 6, when the bound-hedge was forced, up to yesterday, they fired some days 1,000, 800, 700, 600, 500, 300, 200 rounds, but never less than 100. Never a day passed without the sound of shot and shell. But they have ceased fire to-day. 3,000 or 4,000 shot, ranging from twelve to twenty-four and twenty-six pounds, have been picked up and brought in by those who have been out to their batteries. They have also left behind numberless spades, pickaxes, bill-hooks and other entrenching tools.

[1] The *Relation du Siége* gives the figures as follows :—English shot 40,000 from both batteries and ships ; 1,100 shells from the bomb-ketch ; 4,000 shells from the land-mortars. French shot 24,000 ; shells 2,000. (*Collection, Historique* p. 342.)

[2] 4*th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

Planks of fine Europe wood, six to twelve fingers broad, teak beams and planks, etc., were also left behind in large quantities, and men have carried these off as they pleased, taking some for themselves and selling others. Besides what Madame Dupleix' peons had already plundered, liquor-jars, picottas, house-rafters, mortars and pestles, etc., plantain leaves, etc., unripe fruit, Elephant's foot [1], etc., and a little paddy, some ripe and some unripe, were also carried off and growing crops were cut. The English encamped there had ordered their people not to touch the coconut trees, etc., growing near their entrenchments, and so no damage had been done; but we have plundered our own property. The cannon-balls have been taken to the Fort, and paid for as usual at a fanam each.

When I went to the Fort, the Governor spoke about the English retreat and about the burning of their batteries, etc. He added, 'The Muhammadans are bad people; they are dogs, and must be taught a lesson. The Dutch captain, M. Roussel, commanding a thousand Dutch troops, was formerly aide-major and then captain. He married a daughter of M. Le Gassic, the carpenter, then was sent to command at Mahé; but he and M. Bouteville had a duel, so he was recalled and put under arrest. When he went to Europe, he complained against me, but without effect. He then went to Holland, took

[1] A tuber used as food and medicine. See Watt's *Commercial Products of India*, p. 65.

service there and was sent here in command of the Dutch forces.[1] When he went to Europe, his wife and children, who were at Mahé, came and lived here with her younger sister, M. Coquet's wife.'

As I had not eaten in the house where I have been living for the last nine days, I was invited to a feast there at noon; so I went and ate. I said, 'I must go home to-morrow morning; I did not go to-day as it is the ninth day. As the English have ceased fire, I will go with my children and younger brother to-morrow morning, Thursday, the constellation being Makham.[2]'—'Very well,' he said, 'you may go.' We then talked pleasantly, and I said it was thirty-nine days since I had left my house on account of the English troubles.

At twelve o'clock to-night, the English, who had camped on the high ground, struck their tents, and sent them off, abandoning a thousand bags of rice, sugar-candy, sugar, dates, dholl and other provisions which they could not remove. They set fire to their huts. So the Governor ordered 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys, my sepoys, M. d'Auteuil with the dragoons and Muhammadan horse, to march at four o'clock to-morrow morning, intercept and attack the English, and seize all they could, returning

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1 Roussel was a lieutenant of 1733, and was promoted captain 1741. (*P.R. No.* 28 pp. 447 and 508.) As is here stated, he afterwards joined the Dutch service, commanded the company that the Dutch sent to assist in the siege of Pondichery, and subsequently commanded the expedition which the Dutch sent to Bengal in 1759.

2 *I.e.*, Leo.

before sun-rise. I hear that deserters from the Company's European troops told the Governor about M. Roussel. Five or six desert the English camp every day; an officer too has done so.' [1]

Thursday, October 17.[2]—When the troops encamped at Muttiraipâlaiyam, Kadirâm Pillaiyâr temple, etc., marched this morning for Fort St. David and Cuddalore, they set fire to the rice, sugar, sugar-candy, dates, etc., which they could not remove because their coolies had run away. Our people pursued them, but as soon as the English had crossed the Murungampâkkam river, they saw their pursuers, loaded their guns and opened fire. The English in the fort at Ariyânkuppam also fired, so at once our sepoys, horsemen and soldiers retreated. Two horses and two sepoys were killed, and six or seven sepoys wounded. Madame Dupleix' peons were in the rear, and two of them were killed. So they retreated, put out the fires among the rice, etc., and carried off all that was not burnt. Horsemen and foot-soldiers alike carried off as much as they could, and even hired coolies to help them. They reached the Fort at half-past nine.

They began to fire shells early on Sunday the 8th September and the 9th. At that time I left my

[1] This seems to have been a man named Taylor, who told Dupleix he had been a Jacobite officer and had been given the choice of service in the East Indies and being hanged. I do not think he ever held an English commission. See *Nazelle*, p. 343. He was killed at the battle of Ambûr in 1749.

[2] 5*th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

house and removed with my family to Emberumâl Pillai's house. Then when they opened fire from the western battery, I moved again on the thirteenth day to my godown in Pâlayappa Mudali's house. I stayed there sixteen days, and removed at midnight, Tuesday, October 8, when the enemy fired a storm of shots, to the Sunguvârs' house with my family, and had been there ten days. To-day, Thursday, October 17, I left it, having sent my family away first, and came home, having taken leave of Mutturâma Chetti, Sêshâchala Chetti, Lakshmana Nâyakkan and others. As I entered the house, I heard the bells of the church opposite ringing. Negapatam Dêvarâya Chetti and Sâmayyan, who were standing at the entrance, saw me and exclaimed, 'How good an omen to hear the church bells as you enter the home you left so many days ago! Surely you were prudent to remain in the town, although you had to leave your house and remove three times afterwards, and that not for four or six but for thirty-nine days. Though you have been so long absent, yet with how good an omen have you returned, being destined to great prosperity!' So I came home.

When I set out afterwards to visit the Governor in the Fort, I met him opposite my house on his way to see the English battery and entrenchments. At once I got out of my palankin and salaamed. He told me to come too; so I went out with him by the Valudâvûr gate, and visited the battery near

Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu paracherî and two others nearer the town, whence the English fired sixteen guns and mortars. Our people had built a battery north-west of the Madras gate, with two guns, whence they fired upon the English battery and camp. So the enemy built another battery with four guns, in order to hinder men from coming out by the Madras gate. We visited this, and the works we had raised outside the walls to obstruct the English. The Governor then inspected the battery near Pavalakkâra Choultry opposite the Valudâvûr gate, mounting two guns, to answer which the enemy had built a small battery also with two guns. I also saw them. The English had dug a trench wide enough for four men to move abreast, from beyond the bound-hedge, leading to their works. This trench branched into four or six smaller ones, so that they could pass without danger from our shot. This trench was protected by an embankment, so that they could pass in safety, and our bullets could not strike inside. We examined all these devices. There was also a roof to protect the men in the battery from shot and shell, made of Europe planks a palm's breadth or two thick, covered with leaves, and made strong enough to resist a hundred shells. There were places for officers and men to live in, and for storing powder and shell. Wells had been also sunk on both sides, and it was made as strong as possible. The coolies employed received each three Cuddalore fanams

(one of these equals one and a quarter of ours) and as they were so well paid, tens of thousands came, and they worked without minding our fire; and that is why the work was finished so soon. The Europeans and the Governor were astonished.

At five o'clock this evening, the soldiers were drawn up east of the Fort, with the sepoys who had manned the ramparts, the peons under head-peon Malayappan, the Company's peons, etc., and all these fired a volley; then the soldiers fired three volleys; and then the guns on the ramparts were fired. The flag had not been hoisted for the last forty-one days, because there had been no time to make a flag-staff; but one was now prepared and the flag hoisted. Mahârâja Râja Srî the Governor, Madame and all the European ladies and gentlemen, in fine apparel and with smiling faces, went to the church to hear mass, as God has been pleased to drive the enemy away and protect the people. During the service the sepoys and peons on the ramparts fired a volley, then the soldiers three volleys, and then there were salutes of twenty-one guns. Then all the guns on the ramparts round the town were fired, and the Europeans took off their hats, shouting thrice, 'Long live the King, long live the King.' When the Governor left the church after mass, all the European ladies and gentlemen congratulated him, with embraces and kisses, praising his valour in delivering the town when it was attacked by such great forces, in defeating the enemy, and in saving the people.

Then again they thrice shouted, 'Long live the King, long live the King.' All then withdrew to the sorting-godown, where a great table was spread with all kinds of food and wine according to their custom. As the Governor, Councillors and captains passed east of the Fort, where the soldiers were drawn up, all saluted the Governor according to their custom, and the Governor returned it. Then the soldiers and officers waved their hats thrice and shouted, 'Long live the King.' When the captains and Councillors re-entered the Fort, they paused amidst the crowd opposite the *Gouvernement* that is being built,[1] where there was ready a great silver salver, with twenty or thirty glasses filled with wine, and all drank the King's health, taking off their hats and shouting thrice, 'Long live the King.' Then all the Europeans went to the tables spread in the sorting-godown where the Armenians used to live. There they exchanged compliments, ate and drank.

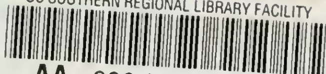
As the Governor was walking up and down the sorting-godown, I, the old Company's merchants, Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, Mutturâma Chetti, Lakshmana Nâyakkan, Tiruviti Bâlu Chetti's

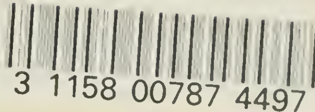
[1] This was situated inside the Fort (the building at this time actually used as the *Gouvernement* being outside it and just to the north). It had been planned by Dumas, but the building was suspended in 1741. Dupleix took it up again in 1742, and in 1750 it was still incomplete. It was the imposing building, overlooking the sea, with lofty Ionic columns whiter than alabaster, that has often been described in connection with the magnificence of Dupleix.

gumastah Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti, Tânappa Mudali, Râmachandra Râo and Vâsudêva Pandit, who are employed at the Beach, Subbayyan, Kumaran and others employed in the Fort, the Choultry writers, Parasurâma Pillai the writer in the Fort, and other chief people of the town, were all arranged in a line and paid our respects to the Governor as follows :—' How can we thank you for protecting us, our families and property, when the enemy surrounded the town with great forces? You robbed yourself of food and sleep in order to consider how to drive them away and utterly overthrow them. Thus you saved us from the enemy. How can we thank you for this? We can only pray God to grant you long life, so that you may make the French nation shine like the sun throughout the world with your glory, and get still more renown. May your enemies, wherever they may be, quail at the sound of your name! Our duty is to pray thus; to show our gratitude.' He replied, 'God has done great things for you.' Thus all paid their respects to the Governor and took leave. He then left the sorting-godown and walked home. I accompanied him.

NOMINAL INDEX.

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